

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

NO. CXLIX.

ART. I.—THE ARYAN GERM.

WHATEVER opinion we may hold as to the origin of the human race, one thing admits of no controversy among experienced persons. Whether it be believed that man is the result of a special act of creation, or that he developed gradually from lower organisations, he is, naturally, the most self-seeking and ferocious of animals. The beings that we somewhat unkindly call "brutes," have strong instincts of self-indulgence and self-preservation: but the human race alone has, in all its known history, added to the common impulses for food and reproduction a deliberate desire of emulation carried out with malice and cruelty. In the eyes of civilized readers these may be shocking statements; but we have only to refer to the doings of mankind on such occasions as the conquest of Canaan, the wars of Asia, and the bloodshed of Europe down to the Terror of 1793, to convince ourselves of this unwelcome truth. In all such scenes it has been plain that there is some special vice in human nature, over and above the mere forces necessary for the welfare of the individual and the continuance of the race.

Nevertheless, in one human family, at least, there has been a second peculiarity which has constantly tended to limit and mitigate the terrible action of the first. From the days when Virgil saw it was the Roman's duty to spare the conquered—if not earlier—runs a thin but real record of compassion. Amid the diapason of cruelty and pain has been heard—ever stronger and clearer—the sweet voice of Pity. The white breed of man has never produced cannibals. To that small, though important, initial distinction has been added, from time to time, a growing feeling that suffering should not be inflicted without purpose or apparent necessity. Frightful as were the deeds of the Romans at the storm of Jerusalem, and on many other occasions; repul-

sive as has been the conduct of the French and Germans on Saint Bartholomew's Day and at the siege of Magdeburg in the thirty years' war; of the English in Ireland and at Glencoe; of the Jacobins in Paris during the French revolution, they have this striking difference from the barbarities of Asiatics and Africans:—each of these crimes against humanity was due—it is no justification but it is a fact—to some conceived political urgency. And the progress that has been constantly going on in the way of minimising suffering is a distinct proof of the improvement of which human thought and manners are susceptible in this respect. Such progress is only found in the history of this one race of men. Compare the law of nations as laid down by Grotius with the *Instructions* issued to the United States Army by President Lincoln, and it will be seen at once how great this progress has been in little more than two centuries. Grotius wrote in 1625, that by the law of nations all prisoners of war are reckoned slaves. By the *Instructions* all slaves became free. Grotius declared that when war is declared against a country, it is declared against all its inhabitants: the enemy's subjects may be slain on our own territory, on his, on neutral territory, and on the sea: the law of nations does not cover either women or children, who may be killed with impunity. Compare these stern doctrines with the treaty of Paris, with the Geneva convention, with the practice—on the whole—of the Germans of 1870 in France. And, since Grotius was an ardent evangelical Christian, it cannot be said that the amelioration was caused either by Christianity or by the Reformation. So the historians of the later Empire show, that as much atrocity mingled in war under the *Labarum* as it had under the eagles. The facts lead to the conclusion, that the change is caused chiefly, if not solely, by the increase of civilisation among the Aryan race.

It cannot, therefore, be without interest, whether in India or elsewhere, to examine into the primal character of the Aryan race as it first emerges into the light of day; and we cannot do so to better purpose than with the aid of a book* lately published in Berlin, whose author undertakes to do for the Indian Aryans—perhaps the first of whom we have distinct vision—what the great historian of the Roman Empire did for ancient Germany. The following sentences describe the exact nature of Herr Zimmer's undertaking:—

“As Jacob Grimm has beautifully said, in German history, the immortal work of a Roman author has made a dawning which may well excite the envy of other nations. By the

* *Altindisches Leben*—v. Heinrich Zimmer, Berlin, Weidmanns, 1879.

Germania of Tacitus—in which hardly a phase of our ancestors' life has remained untouched—the student of German antiquity is in the pleasant position of being able to learn the condition of the people before they began to wander. If to this evidence he joins that derivable from our speech and literature, and from those of the Norsemen, who have never joined in any migration, he may obtain a picture of the pre-historic life of our nation, such as is not to be had in regard to any other European stock.

“The springs from which we have to create the knowledge of early Indian life are essentially different. None of the Phœnicians employed by Hiram and Solomon to sail to Ophir, bringing back the Ape with his Sanscrit name *kaph*, or *kapî*, described for us the folk with whom they had dealings of trade. Nor has India produced a Homer to herald their migration into Hindustan. We have to get our knowledge of the popular life by collecting the scattered hints found in the acknowledged lyrics of the people of the time.

“No literature of an Indo-Germanic nation has preserved, as this has, a wealth of song handed down from early times, such as is contained in the four *Vedas*.* And these lyrics, further, are highly realistic, as will be fully shown hereafter. In the fervent prayers to the gods, in the songs of praise and thanksgiving for mercies received, the poets show us a deep vista into the condition of the mundane relations illustrated by the nature of the things earnestly desired; they display their virtues and their vices freely before the all-seeing powers: blended with purely liturgic aims are found songs and fragments of songs full of the internal and individual life of the people; and thus we find in these poems invaluable testimony to the character and conduct of the infant nation. And the accounts afforded by the Vedic hymns derive a special importance from being the oral work of living men, working and acting as they sang: not looking back upon an era in the past, but chronicling the contemporaneous progress of the race through many centuries. Certainly, the Rishis do not show us all sides, nor do they answer all questions. For example, not only are allusions to government and popular assemblies very rare, but as to justice and punishment we learn scarcely any more than this, that criminals were confined by being tied to trees and posts; and that in heinous cases an appeal to God, or fire ordeal, was allowed to decide.”

H. Zimmer's work, in a word, rests upon an examination of the *Sankhita*, or collected lyrics of the four Vedas, an accurate construction of the text being particularly aimed at. But he has to confess that, mixed with the archaic fragments, there is in these

* V. Final note.

hymnals, much matter of a more recent character, the illumination of which has been a further task for him, and one of some considerable difficulty. He has also to acknowledge defects that cannot be made good.

Although much of the work has had to be done for the first time, the author makes liberal mention of the labours of predecessors and of his obligations to them. Besides the well-known *Sanscrit Texts* of the late Professor John Muir, he cites particularly the labours of Max Müller and A. Ludwig. Acknowledgments are duly made, and thanks tendered to other writers, English and German; lastly, he expresses his respect for "the great work" of Lassen, and adds a modest wish that he might be thought to have produced a worthy complement.

Herr Zimmer's labours have resulted in a book of more than four hundred pages, printed in good Roman type, in spite of Prince v. Bismarck's Chauvinist predilections for Block-letter. The volume is divided into three parts, or "books." Of these, the first describes the land and its inhabitants; the former, as to its geography, its soil, its climate, and its mineral, vegetable and animal productions; the latter, as to *Dasyas* and *Aryas*, the tribes of the aborigines and of the invaders. The second is devoted to the external condition of the Vedic folk, their colonisation and domiciliation, their politics and law, their occupations, their custom and ornaments, their diet, amusements and military system. In the third we have their internal relations, art and science, funeral ceremonies, and views of a future state.

It will not be necessary here to follow the author through the inquiries contained in all these books or parts. The country, its features, its products, and its ethnology, are all known to us through many easily accessible works, and particularly through the *Imperial Gazetteer*, published since the appearance of Herr Zimmer's work, under the auspices of Government. But the social portion of the book cannot fail to be of use and interest to all who would have a clear idea of the manners and customs of these early scions of the Aryan stock. It was this division who, many centuries before the Christian era, penetrated the passes of the Hindu Caucasus. Settling in the Eastern Panjab, they laid the foundation of the famous system which confronted Alexander the Great in Upper India, and which has come in later days to overspread the enormous Peninsula now under the sway of the Empress of India. In such a study will be particularly noticeable the mild and just character which, with due exceptions, has distinguished the Aryans from all other races, not only of Asia, but of the remaining Continents of the world. An attempt has been elsewhere* made to

show how the original cradle of the race in its infancy was in the valley of the Upper Oxus, from which successive streams went forth into other parts of Asia and into the distant lands of what we now call Europe. It was argued that the original elemental religion, whatever its details were, broke up on the reformation of Spitama* towards the latter portion of the sixth century B. C., when the votaries of the old faith, who were nomadic and predatory in their habits, incurred the displeasure of those who had accepted the new State Church, and were driven into exile, carrying with them a rude hymnal, greatly resembling the older portions of the *Avesta* as known to us even now. Considerations were adduced to show that they passed through the mountainous country about Gilgit and Kashmir, and emerged near the debouchure of the Indus. We soon find them in the valley of the Saraswati (still known as Sirhind, "the Head of India,") whence, pressing slowly over the fertile plains to the eastward, they crossed the Jumna and founded the early Hindu Empire recognized in the great epic of the *Māhābhārata*. What we have now to consider is the state of manners and opinion which then distinguished them, and which continued their general characteristic till the Moslem conquests of the eleventh and twelfth centuries after Christ. And, if we find the traces of limited monarchy and of freedom, of public judicature and lenient punishment, of family organisation and domestic piety, with comparative absence of superstition and a fair standard of personal purity, it will be difficult to avoid the conclusion, that these cousins of our European forefathers, the rude Aryans of twenty-five centuries ago, already bore in the bosom of their nascent society the germ which is still developing in Europe and in America, and which forms the only guarantee for the future of mankind.

It must be premised that the Vedic Aryans, to use the term rendered current by recent writers, were not so much bound to a nomad and pastoral life, with its common accompaniment of cattle-lifting, when they emerged upon the broad and fertile plains of the Eastern Panjab, as they had been when living the life of Highlanders round Pamir. Flocks and herds continued, no doubt, to form a great portion of their wealth, as they still do with the modern inhabitants of those regions. But they soon learned to add agriculture to their resources, and substituted for the old portable tent a more permanent habitation, constructed probably of wood. Thus, as H. Zimmer points out, a Vedic word for the people is "Krishti," derived from "Krishi," the act of digging or ploughing. As the modern Persian word for a ploughed field is still "Kisht," it may be fairly inferred that this rudimentary art was brought down to Hindustan (where the corresponding term is still

* Commonly known as "Zoroaster," which was, however, a title, not a name.

"khet") by the Vedic Aryans, and soon put into practice. And hence the word above given became the collective name for the race, and denotes a people generally given to agriculture.

Another ancient word is "Grama," denoting a township, commune or village (*H.* "*gánuw.*") This word, which is found in the *Rig Veda*, denotes an early habit of associating families for common purposes of business, &c. The word included, as it still does, all the cultivated land, whether common or held in severalty; and the contrasted term was "Arnya" or forest. A large fortified town was Puri (or Pur,) probably connected with the idea of the Greek *πολις* or *πόλις*, a place where many people were gathered, which was "full,"—and where the invaders might find refuge when attacked by the aborigines. Evidence is found in the later songs of the Rishis that these towns contained large and lofty houses, surrounded and protected by earthen walls and by ditches, though nothing like a complete art of fortification was developed at first, owing probably to the want of stone in the regions of the original settlement. No distinct mention of properly walled towns is found in the *Rig*—the oldest—*Veda*. As protection against another enemy, the floods caused by the drainage of the *Himálayas*, the larger places were built on high ground.* The first walls were of earth, and they were often built near the banks of rivers.†

Whether in towns or in rural hamlets, the Aryan set up his home ("dama" *domus*) and lighted the sacred fire at his altar and hearth. References to the process of construction, by setting up of posts and rafters are found in the *Rig Veda*; the interstices of both wall and roof being wattled together with interwoven reeds. The principal rooms were four, all designated by terms taken from the sacrificial ritual; and it is to be noticed that these arrangements are not described in the earlier hymnal, which the invaders may have brought with them (when they used to live in tents), but only in later poems. References to furniture are rare in the records; judging from the *Rig Veda* the women used bedsteads and also a kind of close litter, both by night and by day, which points to nomad habits. But mention is made of prayers to the genius of the house, which may imply something resembling the Penates of ancient Rome. Wells for household use were dug, sometimes of considerable depth, from which water was raised by a bucket with a rope and rude block: much, perhaps, as in the common Indian well of the country in the present day.

* There is an old root *pul*, meaning to elevate. Bopp's gloss *in voc.*

compared. It is a primitive root, meaning "bridge."

† The Persian word *pul* may be

Such is the earliest view that we can get of that aggregation of Aryan families which formed the pattern and microcosm of their subsequent societies: the self-governed commune, the parish without a parson, carrying on pasture and cultivation on lands more or less common to the whole body, or assembling in "cities of refuge" when threatened by serious danger. Caste was as yet unknown, though some steps had probably been taken towards division of labour, of which the caste-system is the ossification. The village-system, as is well-known, shows extraordinary vitality. It still forms the integer of administration in this country, where the communes show but little tendency to agglomerate, or even to live together upon friendly terms. The Russian *Mir*, described for us a few years ago by Mr. Mackenzie Wallace, is another illustration of the system in an active state. The manor of England is perhaps, as Sir J. Phear has suggested,* the feudal form of the village, a sort of military monarchy created by special circumstances out of the original republic. But the English tendency towards union was early developed, and the townships, vills, or tithings† formed themselves into hundreds, just as the hundreds again formed ridings, ropes or shires. A similar process went on with the *demoi* of Greece and the *Pagus* or *Vicus* of the Latins; because those races, like the English, encountered surroundings which taught them the value of union and of political organisation.

Let us now return to the invaders of the Panjab, to see how far similar ideas made way among them. In the very early notices of the nation it seems to be regarded as consisting of five tribes, the *Puru*, the *Tarva*, the *Yadu*, the *Anu*, and the *Drubyn*. Further sub-divisions ensued, among which combinations doubtless occurred under the pressure of common interests, such as the call for defence, or the desire of marauding; but which fell apart into their original constituent elements as soon as the common object had ceased to exist. The word *jana*, occurring frequently in the *Rig Veda*, may be taken as indicating the loose union of a tribe or sub-race, when the still looser union of the temporary association was not in existence. The word may be compared with the Latin *gens* as indicative of a belief

* The Aryan village: London, 1880. Introduction.

† It seldom happens that a manor extends itself over more parishes than one. The tithings or collection of ten free families was the integral township, of which ten formed the "hundred." This (the hundred) seems to have been the original ad-

ministrative integer in most European nations as soon as national organisation began: each of the hundreds was under a *centenarius* or bailiff.

For an interesting account of the origin of the Pan. Aryan village-system, v. C. R., CXLV., p. 87.

in generation from the same ancestors. We read in the *Rig* of the *Jana Bharata*, the *Yadva Jana*, &c. These tribes, in later periods, either amalgamated or became castes.

The next division is the district, of which the proper name in our old documents is, *viç*. (Lat. vicus, Lithuanian *vis-pati*.) It is not clear whether any particular number of these went to a tribe; probably the number depended solely on the strength of each tribe, as in the corresponding old German division called *Gau*, of which an indefinite number constituted a *Thind* (the word which eventually gave its name to the collective Teuton, or Deutsch, nationality.) In an interesting passage of the *Rig*, to be found further on in another connexion, we are told how a great campaign took place. With chariots for baggage and for fight the Bharatas came from far to the *çutudri* (Sutlej), which they crossed. The expedition seems to have been against another tribe, called "Tritstu." It was unsuccessful, and led to the Bharatas being dispersed over all the *viças*, or districts, of the Tritstus. It may be that the final result did not correspond to this unpromising incident, for we hear little more of the Tritstus, while the Bharatas became established at the head of the Doab, or land between the Ganges and Jumna, where their capital, Hastinapura, still exists. In another place we hear of districts uniting to choose a king (*Rig*. 10 ; 124-87) ; in still others of the same time we hear of similar arrangements.

But the integer of administration was (at first if not always) in the village communities of which mention has already been made. As in the European instances, these communities were capable of union; the difference, at bottom, being that the administrative focus in Europe tended to expand, while in India the seat of administration tended to confine itself to the village. It is this difference of integration which has made the great nations of the West, while India has remained a set of incoherent particles, and, as used to be said of Italy, a "geographical expression." Nevertheless, through Persian, Slavonic and other intermediate forms, we can trace the far descent of Aryan institutions, and recognise the origin of modern civil life in the embryo presented by the Vedic scheme. For then, even as now, the State rested on the foundation of the household; and hence the science which treats of men in their relations to each other still rightly bears the title of "political economy." The complete family of a nation of Aryan origin was (as it is still) only the incorporation and evolution of bodies formed of small items, each bound together by the minutest atom of common hopes, fears, sorrows and enjoyments. (*Rig*. 2-26-3.) The organization subsisting in times of peace was applicable to war also; and

the territorial regiments of modern Europe are but a survival of the old Aryan distribution of forces.

The head of the federation and of the militia was an individual, as it was with the family, which was the rudiment and model. At the head of the tribe stood the chief ruler, or king, sometimes succeeding by inheritance, sometimes raised by election. The monarch in Britain claims under both titles—or rather under a fusion of the two. It has been shown by historians how Harold objected to the claim of William of Normandy, as designated by Edward the Confessor, that it was a designation unsanctioned by the people or their representatives: after the battle of Hastings William accepted the necessity of a form of election. Stephen, an undeniable usurper, set up a claim to be elected king: the title of Henry IV. was confirmed by Act of Parliament, as was that of a still more remote heir, Henry VII. The right of the people was strongly asserted by the Court that sentenced Charles I, and again by the Lords and Commons in their declaration of 12th February 1688 that the throne was vacant, and that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be appointed to occupy it. The Act of Settlement by which the Queen-Empress now holds, is less in point; but whatever hereditary title might then vest in the House of Hanover and in Her Majesty by birth, received a formal contractual confirmation in the public circumstances of the coronation, with its oath. And there have been other crowns, notably those of Poland and of the "Holy Roman Empire," which continued to be purely elective down to modern times.

It is supposed by Herr Zimmer that, where the post was elective among the Vedic tribes, the choice might still be limited to the members of a certain family or clan in the tribe. But the evidence is defective. However appointed, it is clear that in times of peace, at least, the powers of the ruler were strictly bounded by the liberties of the people. They do not appear to have owed him fixed tribute, but were expected to bring free-will offerings (*Rig.* 10-173). He was the protector of his subjects; and, as such, had to lead them in war. He wore splendid regalia on public occasions; the Aryans "loved the glamour of gold." In these faint touches we see indications of a considerable difference from the conceptions of other races; we perceive no signs of the arbitrary despot of Turanian or African potentates, whose will was law, and who disposed of the lives and liberties, the children and possessions of a slavish and unprotected herd of speechless human chattels. The king's position was not that of an Assyrian despot; but rather that of Clovis among his Franks, the chief of associated clans, each of which

had a separate chief of its own. The very paucity of references to the kingly office in our documents appears sufficient to show how minor was the part that it played in civil life. And to exercise the due popular control over a power which, especially after a triumphant war, might be tempted to exceed constitutional limits, we find recognised assemblies, of which there were three kinds. The first was the village-council, probably for the domestic purposes of the commune, presided over by a head borough; such as in Upper India, we now call "the panch." In the old English hundred this was represented by the Reeve and four freemen. The next was a general council, in which the King, or Chief, presided. The third seems to have been an occasional assembly, which elected a leader for a war, like the Dictator of Rome, and perhaps met upon the demise of the Crown to settle the succession. This last is only mentioned in the later collection called *Atharva Veda*, and appears to mark a step in the progress of organisation. The common name of these greater meetings was *Samiti*, in which we can hardly err if we recognise the Latin *comitia*. A final control was apparently vested in the princes of the blood, who were required to reduce the king to submission if he aspired to absolute rule. H. Zimmer finds a parallel to this in the story told by Tacitus of Arminius, Chief of the Cherusci, an ancient German tribe, of whom we are told by the Roman annalist that "regnum adfectans dolo propinquorum cecidit" (*Ann.* 2. 88). From all which it may perhaps be inferred that the dominion of the head of the Royal Family was almost non-existent as a political power, except during times of war: or only became of weight when the clans became united.

More important, perhaps, in ordinary life, and not much less so in military matters, were the bards, who may be conjectured to have filled, in a loose way, the characters since allotted, in the modern social system, to clergymen, lawyers and the press. The very existence of our records, preserved for centuries by oral tradition, shows the nature and value of some of the duties of this class in time of peace. Living in the neighbourhood of the king, they preserved the standard of poetical excellence which was both high and regular, and, while chanting on all festive and solemn occasions the praises of the Chief, did not neglect to call to mind the deeds and virtues of the people (*Rig.* 9, 10, 3). They lived by the bounty of the Chief, and received splendid proofs of munificence, particularly after the conquest of a dangerous enemy. The temporary failure of the Bharatas and their dispersion among the villages of the Tritsus has been already noticed: it shows that members of the *genus*

irritabile were allowed considerable influence in matters of war. Sudas, the king of the Tritsus, had, it appears, thought proper to dismiss his bard, Vishwamitra, and to employ in his room Vasishtha, by whose powerful ministrations he obtained the special protection of Indra (a personification of the Almighty.) Vishwamitra took refuge with the Bháratas and persuaded them to avenge his wounded feelings. With baggage-wagons and chariots of war they came from the far West, and poured into Sirhind, led by the revengeful bard. But the power of his rival prevailed. "Like drovers' goads," we are told, probably in Vasishtha's own words, "like drovers' goads were the wretched Bháratas broken up. Vasishtha led against them; they were scattered among all the homesteads of the Tritsus." (*Rig.* 7, 33, 6) This may be taken as the earliest forerunner of such works as Cæsar's, a specimen of a war described by a literary man who was also actively engaged in its conduct.

Of the administration of justice the poems of the Vedas contain but little mention. But that little is enough to show that there was nothing arbitrary or blood-thirsty about it. Nor were the crimes ordinarily of a violent or cruel nature. Envy, calumny, and greed, then as now, were the chief motives of unchastened men; and a confusion of religion and morals prevailed from which the more advanced European collateral nations are only now getting free—whereby misconduct was detected by quasi-spiritual methods and was judged by a quasi-spiritual standard, and lying was not denounced unless it involved a false oath before the gods. Theft was traced by the aid of conjurors. An accused person was called upon publicly to grasp a heated axe or other piece of metal. For ordinary offences the common punishment was confinement in the village stocks. More heinous offenders were bound hand and foot to a wooden post and left there for a certain period. Gamblers staked their own persons in the almost universal passion for play which seems to have prevailed among the people; and the losers became slaves to the winners. Outlaws and helots appear to have existed, over and above the subjugated non-Aryans who were reduced to servitude if they remained in their ancient seats. Numbers of both classes—aborigines and unworthy Aryans—were subjected to banishment. No notice appears of the slaughter of conquered enemies or of prisoners-of-war.

It has already been said that the very early records show no traces of the modern system of caste. It is almost universally acknowledged that neither in Bactria nor immediately after the immigration was there anything of the kind. Yet was the Aryan mind disposed in that direction; as we may see by a state of feeling still found among the English, and still more

among the Germans; where high employment of certain kinds is still pretty much reserved to the patrician classes, and where these still abstain, for the most part, from intercourse with much lower classes, either at bed or board. The division of labour soon took this morbid turn among the Vedic Aryans. Before the close of the Vedic epoch the royal blood among the amalgamated tribes had appropriated the profession of arms, subject to a primal competition of the priestly or literary class, who, as we have seen, did not shrink from battle. In the earlier days they had taken their part in the conduct of campaigns, like the mailed troubadours and fighting Bishops of mediæval Europe, while the duty of offering sacrifice had been performed by the head of the family, the head of the village, the head of the tribe or king. But, as in all rude communities, there was no complete or scientific partition of offices. From their high place of honour at the king's right hand, their memory of bygone heroism, their skill in singing the praises, and procuring the favour, of the gods, the bards learned to claim a monopoly of divine service and mediation. As Vasishta gained for Sudas the protection of Indra, so we may imagine many of his compeers acquired a similar reputation. At last occurred some struggle like that represented by the story of Samuel and Saul in the annals of Israel: and the sacrificial function that had once belonged to the head of the family and the head of the nation, fell ultimately into the hands of the prophet, or bard. The nobility, the class of chiefs and kings, found it their interest to consent to this transfer, in return for which they obtained the benefit of consecration. The revolution is hinted at according to our author, in numerous passages of the *Atharvâ*. Something of the same kind is commemorated in the history of the Jews. But the reluctant consecration of Saul by Samuel marks the difference of a race which held a fundamentally theocratic view of polity; and a far closer analogy seems to be supplied by the nations of modern Europe in which the fusion of Church and State is never complete, as it is in Islam, and where the king is not a priest, although the priest consecrates and supports the king. Thus, in a British Coronation, it is still the Archbishop of Canterbury who receives the royal oath and anoints the monarch.

The purely Indian part of the caste-system became necessary from the position of the Aryans as an invading nation settled among a conquered race:—where intermarriage had to be denounced and, at last, forbidden. From its religious tendencies the class of wise and priestly bards became the leading profession of the colony under the title of Brahmins. The persons

of the Brahmans were declared inviolable, like those of the Deputies in France in 1789. The class of chiefs and warriors fell into a second, though scarcely subordinate, place; these originally stood in close proximity to the priestly class:—"A Brahman," says an early text, "who leans upon a king, is a leader among Brahmans; a king who leans upon a Brahman is a leader among kings," and this down to our own time has been the system among the Mahrattas. The third class was formed by the rest of the Aryans who were called by a name that had once denoted the entire race *Vaiçyas*, "bourgeois," from the word *viç*. The last regular class were the *Çudras* (not "twice-born," or Vedic, like the other three, but still recognised as respectable) being made up of all those friendly aborigines who had taken sides with the invaders. From these, in all probability, the great bulk of the middle class Hindu population of to-day is descended: and the ramification of caste has gone on among them until there are 250 bodies of men with no more connexion than what exists among the various divisions of the animal kingdom. The brazier will no more intermarry or take food with the potter, than the elephant with the tiger, or the vulture with the goose.

Quite excluded from all Vedic privileges, or even political rights, were the out-casts. Some of these were Aryans who had not embraced the new regulations, and who, for the most part, remained west of the Saraswati. Others were the offspring of forbidden unions between persons of different castes or classes. Lastly, there must have been, as the conquest extended, numerous tribes of the Kolarian and Dravidian races, who lived apart, even as some of their descendants do still in the less fertile and less accessible parts of the country. None of these divisions are mentioned in the *Rig Veda*; and it may be supposed that they do not belong to the primitive organisation of the Vedic tribes or their surroundings, but arose when the division by tribes or clans was passing away. Of this we see an instance in the disappearance of the Tritstus and the extension of the name of the Bháratas from a clan to a nation.*

It has been said that Aryan society was based upon the family. That is hardly so complete a platitude, as it may at first seem. For instance, in all the large and numerous communities subject to the creed and law of Islam, no such basis of society can be said to have been established; of course, there is such a thing as a family. But, instead of being the head of a free

* For an account of origin and v. C. R., CXLI., p. 26.
development of the caste-system

household, *primus inter pares*, the Musulman is almost always the despotic lord of secluded and illiterate females, and of menials who, however kindly treated, are mostly slaves. In the dawn of Aryan society, in Homer and Livy, as in the Vedas, we find the wife free, equal in intelligence and rights, the help-meet of man. Such also was the rule in Germany. In all these communities the *patria potestas* was a regulated power existing for ends that were never long lost sight of; and slavery, if allowed, was not favoured, and did not exist without many limits and restrictions. The "old maid" was not unknown; and in any case the unmarried daughter lived in her father's house and bore a part in its labours—especially those of the dairy. Already the germ of love-marriage existed among the Vedic Aryans (*Ath.* 3-25-1.) If the young couple were of one mind, it was still needful to have the sanction of the father, or, if the father were dead, of the lawful guardian. A go-between was employed for this purpose, generally the bosom-friend of the wooer; (*Reg.* 10-85-15) and of this custom we have a survival in the otherwise unmeaning "best man" of modern times.

Gifts, as still, were requisite; only, instead of the bride, her father received them—which was a pleasant arrangement, from his point of view, though not so nice for the young couple as the system of to-day;—then, as now, the wedding took place in the father's house, and was celebrated with religious rites before the altar of Agni. No reference to marriage by capture is noticed; this is probably a Scythian, or Tartar, custom. Monogamy was the rule; and if polygamy was indulged in by kings and nobles, the first wife remained "the house-wife"; the others, citing H. H. Wilson, our author considers to have held the position of concubines. Kings and nobles have not, it is said, altogether waived this kind of privilege among more modern Aryans, though monogamy continues to be the general rule except among the Mormons.

As regards the sons in a family, so long as they were not adult, they were subject to their father. When the latter became decrepit, the eldest son (having attained maturity, as by that time would usually be the case) assumed the position of head of the family (*Rig.* 10, 85, 46). Still more was that position allotted to him when the father was dead; and with the position he assumed the guardianship of his unmarried sisters and the duty of giving them in marriage.

As to the condition of the widow, there is not much information forthcoming. The rite of *Sati* is not recognised or allowed in the earlier portions of the *Rig Veda*—but H. Zimmer goes further, and cites passages (10, 18, 8, and *Seventy songs ap.* Roth)

The Aryan Germ.

to show that after the funeral the widow was anointed and made to return to active life. At the same time it cannot be said that the rite was absolutely unknown.

That cremation was not originally a duty imposed upon a widow is, indeed, clear from the consideration that it was by no means obligatory or general as a mode of disposing of the corpse itself. The fact is that neither burning nor burying is a funeral rite, specially characteristic of the Aryan race. The Greeks and Romans burned their dead; the Gauls and Goths buried them. The Vedic folk practised both indifferently, believing—as H. Zimmer shows in a later chapter—that the immortal principle of man was spiritual. As to the widow, it is his conclusion, that her sharing her husband's pyre was an ancient Indo-Germanic custom, not originally universal or obligatory with the race, but ultimately frozen into the form of a law by the Brahmans, as a consequence of the prohibition of re-marriage by widows. The most striking passage in corroboration of the death of the wife at the husband's funeral is found in the *Atharva* (18, 3, 1), which is conclusive as to the usage being known in comparatively early times—though not in those which we are principally concerned with. On the general subject of sepulture and funeral rites H. Zimmer gives details from the earlier and later Vedic writings which are not always reconcilable. Their chief interest arises from the older compositions which show that before they had been contaminated by contact with the superstitions of the aborigines, the Aryans had views which closely resemble those of modern Europeans. They were not Pessimists. Like the Greeks, they loved life, and framed many prayers—of which the *Rig Veda* contains numerous examples—in which they asked that life might be preserved from accident and prolonged, so that death might be caused by old age alone. But they also recognise that death is man's companion, like his shadow, and that, in one way or another, all life must have an end some day.

Jacob Grimm, in his treatise on cremation, has shown that both burial and burning of the dead were in use among the earlier Indo-Germanic races. And so they are shown to have been among those for whom the *Rig Veda* was composed (*R. V.*, 10. 15. 11.—10. 16.—10. 18.)

The chief ceremonies on either occasion were the washing and dressing of the corpse, and its adornment with arms and armour which were not withdrawn till the last moment. A stone barrier was placed between the living and the dead, and the dead was gradually abandoned by all his surviving friends, the widow being the last to go. We are expressly told that the friends of the widow are to throw her offerings in the funeral fire, clearly

showing that there was then no thought of her having to take a place in it herself. Then, when the body was to be buried, it was lowered gently into the grave by those on whom the duty devolved, with many pious wishes that the earth might lie lightly on it. The grave was then boarded over, and the dead was left in peace with a last prayer to waft the spirit on its heavenly way.

"Here may he rest," they sang "but *there* may Yama, the Lord of the blest, afford the spirit a place in realms of bliss!" How different is this view of the destiny of the individual from that of the Jews, may be seen by comparing the conclusion of the Preacher (*Ecclesiastes* xii.—7.)

As to arts and sciences, there is but little evidence. Poetry was already matured; indeed, the earlier hymns of the *Vedas* are in all respects similar to those of the *Avesta*; so that metrical art must have been known to the Aryans before the separation which led to the conquest of India. But writing was probably unknown, and arithmetic,* astronomy and metaphysics, though all recognised and understood in a rude form, were naturally very undeveloped. The people were far from savage; on the other hand, being without the art of writing, their sciences must have been vague and unsystematic. As to architecture, the exclusive use of wood and mud, or the employment of stone only in a cyclopean manner for the walls of towns, must have kept building in a very simple condition. History and chronology possessed but little interest for the wanderers. In their computations of time the lunar and the solar years were both recognised. The former influence affected the month, which was (as is still the Hindu practice) divided into two fortnights, the dark (or moonless) and the bright (or moonlight). Twelve of these natural divisions were brought into harmony with the sun's course, and an intercalated month every third year brought matters straight enough for their ordinary purposes. The year was regarded as consisting of four seasons, spring, summer, rains and winter. The reckoning was by nights rather than days, in consequence of the division of the month above mentioned, and a trace of this system may be found in the French *semaine* (q. d. "seven moons") and the old English "sevenight" (believed to have been last used by the late Lord Russell) and the still current "fortnight." Medicine was a holy science, the gift of the gods; sicknesses being in like manner regarded either as divine chastisements, or as sent by the powers of evil. In place, therefore, of pathology and the *Pharmacopœia*

* The scale of calculation was binary, halves, quarters, eighths and sixteenths being the only fractions recognised in the *Rig Veda*. The

unit of length was a human finger, or an ox's hoof. Comp.-Eng. "foot" and French "pouce."

the physician of those days had to study the art of Magic, to repulse the bad spirits and propitiate the good.

Taking all these circumstances together, we may well conceive that we have evidence that the near relations of our European ancestors possessed already the root-ideas of modern civilisation ; and that their invasion and gradual spread into India was a very great boon to that wide peninsula, then inhabited by races who mingled the characteristics of some of those tribes of mankind who have remained backward down to modern times ; the Tartar, the Negrito, the Polynesian and the Malay. That Aryan civilisation took no deeper root, and produced no brighter effects may be attributable to two causes : the rudimental form in which it existed among the Aryans of those days, and the surroundings into which they came. The first we have abundantly seen. The second consisted in this :—The aborigines, though individually weak in mind and body, were numerous. They were barbarous, multilingual, indolent, worshippers not so much of many gods as of many devils. The fusion that ensued gave as well as took, and the population, though the caste-system prevented a strict union, ultimately partook of the characters of the conquered and conquerors in some thing like equal proportions. The abstinence from commerce and seafaring did the rest, in combination with the final subjugation of the country by Moslem Tartars.

There are only two drawbacks to H. Zimmer's excellent work.

It does not make any attempt to establish a rational chronology, and it does not give any account whatever of the religious belief and practices of the Vedic folk.

As to the first, all that the author does is to accept the old conventional dates, founded on "the colures" and the cackling of the pandits ; and whenever facts come in the way, they experience the fate of Stephenson's railway cow. Thus, for instance, having been led in the text to recognise a reference to Balkh, he makes a point of cancelling it in the appendix. "I have," says he, "assumed that under the term Balhika (*Atharva* V, 5, 22) no Indian stock is to be looked for, but the 'Mother of cities' celebrated in Persian poetry. But utterly incorrectly, for this would require the passage to have been written after the seventh century before Christ, which would be about as absurd as supposing the gospel of John to have been written by a contemporary of Luther." Now, it would certainly be absurd to say that the fourth gospel was not composed until the sixteenth century A. D., but that does not go far towards proving that the *Atharva Veda* was written 2,200 B. C. In the case of John we have excellent evidence, MSS. going back to the fourth century of the Christian era, quotations by contemporary writers,

and even by writers who can be certainly assigned to a far earlier period. The most destructive scepticism has probably never ventured to suppose this book later than about the middle of the second century A. D. But how does this apply to the *Atharva*?

I have shown elsewhere* how difficult it is to establish dates in regard to primitive Indian history or literature. Weber, however, who is one of the latest and most cautious writers on the subject, is disposed to think that the Vedas were completed in the third century B. C., after which Sanscrit slowly developed into a learned language, and produced the grammar of Panini, the epics, the laws of Manu, and the lexicon of Amar Siuh. These works distinguish an epoch ending in the fourth century A. D. This is a serious allowance to claim against the old chronology; but the following is an instance that cannot be gainsaid. The era of Chandra Gupta must necessarily correspond with that of Seleucus Nicator: yet the Puranas put him at a date before 1500 B. C.—an excess of about twelve centuries! Allowing for the similarity between the older strophes of the *Rig* and the earlier *Gathas* of the *Avesta*, and admitting that a people unacquainted with the art of writing may have brought these lyrics in the form of oral tradition from their original home, it must be also conceded that the *Atharva* is shown by internal evidence to have been composed at a later period, after the Aryans had settled in the Panjab and spread towards the east.† If, then, there is no evidence of a MS. before the third century B. C., and none of the Aryans leaving Bactria before the accession of Darius Hystaspes, there is clearly no absurdity in H. Zimmer's original assumption that Balhika means Balkh, and that the *Atharva* may have been written long after the end of the seventh century B. C.‡ Similarly, clear indications that the Vedic writers knew of the existence of the Parthian and Persian nations have to be similarly disposed of in favour of the chronology aforesaid. As to all this it can only be observed, that if the plainest facts are to be sacrificed to make way for a foregone conclusion, resting on no certain basis, we must surrender the principles of historical criticism, and prepare ourselves for any statements, no matter how arbitrary or unreasonable.

With regard to the other defect, it is matter for regret that H. Zimmer could not bring it within his scope to treat of the religious beliefs and usages of the Vedic Aryans. We have already seen the great probability that the migration that brought them into India was due to religious causes. Instances of the quarrel

* Art. referred to at the beginning of this paper.

† V. Weber's testimony in final Note. ‡ *Ibid.*

are familiar in the languages of the two dissident branches. The Iranian Reformer Spitama—commonly called Zoroaster,—finding that the unpopular Bactrian nomads would not give up the Devas of the old faith, proceeded to minimise those Devas, as Protestants did with the Saints of the Latin Church. This not sufficing, these supposed powers had to be transformed into evil spirits, or devils; and a form of service was specially devised in which the neophyte expressed his renunciation of them and all their works. Those, on the contrary, who adhered to the old faith, made an enemy of the word *Asura*, which in its Persian form “Ahura” had stood for a Deity; the *Asura* was now represented as a spirit of hell and hostile to the gods. We know from Herodotus that the primitive worship of the western Iranians was free from the use of either idols or temples; that they worshipped Zeus (the sky) fire, water, the sun, the moon, the winds. This is the central idea of the *Rig* hymnal.

If we may in any way attempt the interpretation of this old breviary of the Aryans (the liturgy of primæval Trinitarianism supposed by Professor Emile Burnouf in his *Science de la Religion*) this elemental *cultus* had assumed a somewhat rigorously fixed type at about the time of the immigration. The Deity was regarded as an immanent power in Nature, revealed to man in his works, and chiefly in the three all-important manifestations of, 1st ADITI, or SURYA the sun; 2nd AGNI the Fire; and 3rd VAYU the wind, or firmamental air, by whose instrumentality the sacrificed Agni lives and returns to his heavenly Father, bearing propitiatory oblations for man.

At the first appearance in the east of the maiden USHAS—the Dawn—the head of the family in his priestly character, led forth his wife and children to the altar which stood at their door. Here, producing the sacred fire by turning a centre bit of hard wood in the middle of a cross of the same material, he placed the kindled tinder so obtained upon the stone. There with due invocations, it was anointed with butter, until by the action of the surrounding air, it burst into a blaze. The sacrificial offerings—of soma juice, and what not—were then slowly consumed; and, as the column of thin smoke mounted towards the swiftly mounting sun, with the background of the Himalayas standing with glinting tops in the morning sky, the family recited some of the hymns and prayed for a blessing on the labours of the day.

Such is Professor Burnouf's idea of the simple worship of the exiles, before intercourse with the polytheistic people of the country, had introduced caste, idolatry and the other complicated elements of primal and Puranic Brahmanism. In which it is, no doubt, possible to imagine a pre-shadowing of the ultimate development

of Christianity, or at least a preparation of the human mind for a part of its rudimentary theological conception.

The residue of Hinduism, of which we have results in the various modern sects down to Keshab Chandra Sen, and Daya Nand Sarsati, has been glanced at in various numbers of the *Calcutta Review*. It consists of a strong element of Pantheism, subsequently modified by intercourse with Muhamadanism and eventually with Christianity—developments of Judaism, which are on the whole, unfavourable to Pantheism, and have assimilated the idea of polity, mundane and celestial, usual among the Semitic races. Whatever be the reason, Orientals of that blood, have always in politics shown a leaning for the conception of a helpless world entirely dependent on the caprice of an irresponsible despot, jealous of allegiance and greedy for praise. And it is by no means wonderful that their religious scheme should be based upon a similar ground work. Living so long in contact with these races, the Hindus have confused their own views (naturally somewhat vague and indefinite) by the notions derived from this very different system. But it is observable that neither the coarse polytheism due to the policy of priests desirous of conciliating the devil-worshipping aborigines, nor the monotheism engendered by contact with Semitic neighbours, has extinguished the tendency towards Pantheism of the higher Hindu mind.

Thus, with the aid of the oldest records, interpreted by the most recent studies, we obtain a picture equally interesting to Indian and to European readers. The former will find in the *Vedas* an account of the institutions which lie at the root of modern Hindu life: the latter will learn what manner of men were the near kinsfolk of their own forefathers. The present writer—though he does not pretend to much original scholarship—will not shrink from avowing his dissatisfaction with the chronology of the Pandits and of the early European students whom the Pandits inspired. Thus, to take another example, Sir W. Jones fixed the age of Buddha, “the ninth great incarnation of Vishnu,” in the year 1014 B. C.*; H. H. Wilson gives thirteen different dates assigned by the Buddhists themselves for the origin of their creed, and concludes, that very likely Buddha is altogether a myth. Turnour shows that a difference of twenty centuries exists among the various dates assigned for Buddha’s birth. Max Müller holds that we have no authentic history connected with the subject before the time of Asoka (about 250 B. C.) But making due allowance for all these uncertainties and exaggerations,

* Krishna he puts two centuries earlier. If he ever existed, it must have been long after the close of the Vedic period. The error about Sandracottus has been noticed above—an excess of about twelve centuries.

we cannot doubt that the earlier lyrics of the *Vedas* contain accurate contemporary records of an Aryan race, little, if at all, more recent than the times of the Western branch as described by the rhapsodist of the *Iliad*. What Europe has grown to since, we see. It would be a matter of sincere rejoicing to the present writer if he could think that he had done anything towards convincing the peoples of Britain and of India that they possess common blood, common traditions, common ideas; and that the connexion that now subsists between them is natural and beneficial. As the fair-skinned strangers from the North came into the "Italy of Asia" two and a half millenniums ago, proving their title to influence and rule by superior qualities and humane institutions, so have the descendants of their kindred who moved westward come in these latter days to claim a similar office by virtue of a like title. This, and not any pedantic application of unsanctioned laws, forms the true charter of dominion, and it conveys no more just cause of humiliation to the subject land than the supremacy of knowledge and judgment does in any other instance. The British are in India, as the Vedic Aryans were before them, to introduce just principles and to organise society in a spirit of mild firmness: nor have they anything to fear, or blush for, as long as they fulfil such functions. The eloquent expressions contained in a recent address by the Viceroy, deserve permanent record in this connexion. Addressing a mixed audience in opening an Exhibition at Simla, in 1880, Lord Ripon used the following noble language:—

"It should be our effort, more and more in this country, not to destroy but to improve; not to overthrow the traditions and native civilisation of some of the most ancient races of the world, but to elevate and purify and develope them; to retain and strengthen what is good; to remove what is false and evil, and thus to wed together in indissoluble and prolific union the earliest and latest developments of the Aryan race."

That the relations so established may remain in full activity until their work is done is all that can be wished by the true friends of the Indian people.

It may appear a noticeable omission that in the above pages there has been no direct reference made to Sir H. S. Maine's *Early History of Institutions*. Let me however observe, once for all, that no one can at all hope to understand the nature of the Aryan germ and its developments who has not a clear conception of that most remarkable book. The author has shown the general similarity of Aryan social ideas, and the wide divergence among the states of society which they have in various places engendered, with a combination of the capacity to see likenesses with the skill to detect differences that is not often found in the same mind. He

shows how, in the extreme East of the Aryan world, institutions exist which had, till lately, their counterpart in the extreme West, while the whole of the interjacent space has been marked by an ever-increasing tendency towards a wholly different system. And he also shows fully the reasons why this has happened. In Ireland, as in India, there had been established a body of positive law divested of all the attributes which the Roman jurists and their successors thought the essentials of legislation. And this was, because, while the communities of the rest of the Aryan world were gradually organised by the influence of the Roman Empire in the true course of social evolution, the Eastern and Western extremities, wanting the bond of central authority, and using laws only sanctioned by opinion and penalties of a purely social character, continued to be masses of almost incoherent cells. Both are now united under the same Empire, an Empire resembling that of Rome in physical and moral power. And this is what gives our study of India its chief interest, and leads the student of the past to hope for amelioration in a perhaps still distant future.

Note.—For the benefit of those who are unfamiliar with the subject, the following brief statement may be added as to the best established facts regarding the *Vedas*. The name denotes four collections of hymns, prayers and rubrics which form the earliest Scripture of the Hindus, whereof the *Rig* or *Rik* is the oldest, and the *Atharva* the most recent. An attentive study of these records has led to a gradual diminution of the period of antiquity assigned to their production, joined to a belief that they cover a considerable period of time; the oldest portions having been composed before the invasion of India by the Aryans, while the more modern may be about a century later than the incursion of Alexander the Great. We may therefore take them as extending over times and conditions not much less diverse than were those of Moses from those of Ezra. The astronomical data by which it was sought to fix their date at periods varying from 2000 to 1400 B. C., and to give a like antiquity to the period of the Buddhist reform, on which others have relied as a basis of calculation, have been alike rejected by the latest authorities. As to the composition of the *Vedas*, no date has been as yet demonstrated, either for their origin or their complete and final recension as a whole. "In the more ancient parts of the *Rig Veda Sanhita*," says Professor Weber, "we find the Indian (q. d. Aryan) race settled on the North-West border; the gradual spread of the race from those seats towards the east, as far as the Ganges, can be traced in the later portions of the *Vedas* almost step by step. "He believes that," though the majority of the *Rik*

hymns were composed on the banks of the Indus, "their final reduction can only have taken place in Hindustan; the *Sanhita* of the *Saman-Veda*, being borrowed from the *Rik* must needs be of inferior antiquity; as for the two *Sanhitas* of the *Yajur-Veda*, we have, in the prose portions, distinct evidence that they were composed in the eastern part of the country and belong to a period when the Brahmanical hierarchy and the system of caste were in full sway," say about the third century B. C. Of the *Atharva Sanhita*, he says, that it belongs to a period when Brahmanism had become altogether dominant. "The spirit of the collections is entirely different. In the *Rik* there breathes a free natural feeling, a warm love of nature: in the *Atharvan* there prevails, on the contrary, only an anxious dread of her maleficent powers. In the *Rik* we find the people in a state of free activity and independence; in the *Atharvan* we see it bound in fetters of superstition and of the hierarchy."

In the analysis above essayed with the aid of H. Zimmer, the attempt has been confined to such portions as furnish data as to the habits of the Aryans before they had been much altered by contact with the aboriginal peoples, and with the peculiar climatic and other influences of India. Similar evidence, in a word, to what we find regarding the manners and customs of their Mughal successors in the *Memoirs of Babar*.

Full particulars regarding these books may be found in Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, of which an English translation was published by Trübner in 1871. The Vedas have been edited by Professor Max Müller, under the initiative of the late Court of Directors, H. E. I. C. Four Volumes of a translation by H. H. Wilson, appeared in 1850-67.

H. G. KEENE.

ART. II.—HINDI, HINDUSTANI, AND THE BEHAR DIALECTS.

MR G. A. GRIERSON, of the Bengal Civil Service, has lately startled the Indian public by his venturesome proposal* that some one of the local dialects of Behar should be substituted for Hindi as the official language of the cutcherries and the schools in the province. Mr. Grierson has found an able critic in Babu Radhikaprasanna Mukhurji, who, in two successive pamphlets, 'has effectively disputed † Mr. Grierson's positions, as given out in his two articles that have appeared in this Review. Any further *detailed* criticism of Mr. Grierson's views seems therefore to be unnecessary. There are certain important aspects of the question, however, that demand discussion, and this for the two-fold reason that the subject is one of more than local Behari interest, and that Mr. Grierson's special study of the local dialects of Behar and the characters in which they are written invests his utterances with a certain amount of authority. With these aspects of the question the present paper will mainly deal, keeping clear, as far as a comprehensive grasp of the subject will permit, of the ground traversed by Babu Radhikaprasanna.

It seems necessary to begin with an explication of the terms Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani, for Mr. Grierson's explication of them, though correct in the main, does not remove all sources of confusion. 'Hindi and Urdu,' to quote Mr. Grierson's words, 'are different phases of the same language, which is called Hindustani.' Urdu is Musalmanni Hindustani, and is characterised by its abundance of Persian and Arabic vocables, from which Hindi, which is the Hindus' Hindustani, is comparatively free. The former borrows all words of a learned or scientific character from Arabic, or Persian, coining, where necessary, new terms with element drawn from Arabic; while the latter borrows all its higher terms from Sanskrit, coining, where necessary, new terms with Sanskrit elements. ‡ This it is that tends to accentuate more sharply the difference between the two as their cultivation advances,

* The proposal is given in very nearly Mr. Grierson's own words.

† It is not to be inferred from this that the present writer subscribes to everything Babu Radhikaprasanna says.

‡ To this aspect in the relation

between Urdu and Hindi, Mr. Grierson's distinction of the latter from the former by the negative characteristic of a more or less rigid exclusion of 'foreign' (more correctly, Persian and Arabic) words does not draw attention.

and to effectually bar a reconciliation between them. Urdu is now in the foreground, and Hindi in the background, and this for the simple reason that Musalman civilisation has for centuries over-ridden the less vigorous civilisation of the Hindus. In fact, Hindustani is often used as synonymous with Urdu.* It is used likewise to denote both Urdu and Hindi, i.e., both of them together, in their integrity, and not the grammatical structure and the vocables that are the common property of both. When Hindustani, however, is said to be the vernacular of the people, anywhere, it must plainly be meant that it is such in either its Urdu or its Hindi phase, for the same people cannot possibly habitually employ both phases of the language. A passage from Dr. Hoernle's great work, the *Gaudian Grammar*, may here fitly be quoted. "It appears," says he, "that there are three different forms of speech current in the Hindi area; viz., the H. Hindi or Urdu, the W. Hindi and the E. Hindi. The first of these is nowhere the vernacular of the people; and it takes the form of Urdu among Muhammadans and of Hindi among Hindus; though the difference between these two forms is less marked in the mouth of the people than in the books of the learned."† By vernacular is evidently meant here the language of the rustic population. To a portion of the town population—immigrants from the country—Hindustani‡ (i.e., H. Hindi or Urdu) may not be the mother-tongue, but the bulk of the town populations, notably the Muhammadans, do speak Hindustani as their mother-tongue. In Western Hindustan the Hindi dialects are only more completely dominated by imperial Hindustani than in Eastern Hindustan, where also Hindustani reigns as the language of the towns. Upper and middle class Muhammadans do speak Hindustani as their vernacular in both town and country. Even lower class Muhammadans hardly form an exception.

Outside the area of Hindustan proper, Hindustani is spoken by Musalmans of any respectability all over India, although they may not everywhere speak it as their vernacular. It is, besides, the common *lingua franca* of Hindu ascetics, who roam over

* A distinction often made between Hindustani and Urdu may further be noticed. It is more the written phase of Musalmani Hindustani, than the spoken, that is called Urdu. The reason appears to be that the written phase, besides being in the Persian character, has a more thoroughly Arabo-Persianised vocabulary than the spoken phase,

which in consequence differs less from spoken Hindi.

† Introduction, *Gaudian Grammar*, pp. vii, viii.

‡ In this paper the word Hindustani will be used as meaning the language which 'takes the form of Urdu among Muhammadans, and of Hindi among Hindus.'

the whole country and carry the language wherever they go. Hindustani tradesmen, shop-keepers, soldiers, and service-seeking classes, more numerous and more widely spread than men of the corresponding classes from any of the other linguistic areas in India, carry Hindustani over distant parts of the land. Finally, the English rulers of the country, and the East Indian community (a by no means insignificant class) have, by reason of the position occupied by Hindustani previous to the English conquest of India, made this language their 'special favourite.' The consequence of all this has been that Hindustani has become the *lingua franca* for almost the entire country.

There is no definite, universally recognised principle for distinguishing a *dialect* from a *language*. Philologists are hardly agreed among themselves as to where the difference between one form of speech and another ceases to be dialectic and becomes linguistic. The general popular practice has been to call by the name of dialect all mutually allied forms of speech that are spoken over comparatively small areas, and have no progressive literature of their own, and that subordinate themselves, mainly from political causes, to another more widely spoken and cultivated cognate form of speech. According to this current popular usage, all the different forms of speech current mainly among the rustic Hindu population (the urban population, Hindu and Muhammadan, for the most part, speak Hindustani) in Hindustan have been called dialects of Hindi, just as Piedmontese has been called a dialect of Italian, and Catalanian and Valencian dialects of Spanish.* The researches of Dr. Hoernle have now established the fact that the dialects spoken over Western Hindustan form a group by themselves, all with a close mutual affinity to Hindustani, and that the Eastern dialects form a group by themselves, with close mutual affinities to one another, and a more distant common affinity to Hindustani. The nomenclature adopted by Dr. Hoernle in his classification of the Gaudian languages is, however, open to objection. He calls the Eastern group of dialects a language, and christens this language Eastern Hindi. To this use of the word *language* exception may well be taken, seeing that these dialects do not acknowledge any common standard of which they are content to be regarded as dialects. Dr. Hoernle again appears to depart from his own principle of classification in styling, according to popular convention, Oriya a *language*, for the affinity between Oriya and Bengali is about as close as that between any two Eastern Hindi dialects, and this on his own shewing.†

* The affinities of Piedmontese Italian and Spanish respectively, and of Catalanian and Valencian † Gaudian Grammar, pp. 346—355. with French are closer than with

It is the *Eastern Hindi* of Dr. Hoernle whence Mr. Grierson has drawn his inspiration, and he would make the name a reality by creating a standard Eastern Hindi, where at present none exists. He would not allow the question whether a cultivated Eastern Hindi language should take the place of Urdu and High Hindi in Eastern Hindustan, to be decided by the people of Eastern Hindustan themselves, but would invoke the authority of the State to settle the question, to set up a standard, and to enforce this standard in schools and law-courts. But there is a serious difficulty in his way. The Eastern Hindi area is not all under one and the same government. Rather more than two-thirds of it is included in the North-Western Provinces and native States, and only the remainder (Behar) forms part of the territories under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. Mr. Grierson is, however, nothing daunted by this. He parts company with Dr. Hoernle, drops the doctor's Eastern Hindi (a term which, however objectionable, does nevertheless represent a reality—an actually-existing group of dialects,) and boldly proposes *Bihari* as the designation of a literary language for Behar that is yet to be.

Now, Behar, it has to be remembered, is a mere administrative name, just as Lombardo-Venetia was an administrative name during Austrian sway in Italy. It corresponds to no distinct ethnic or linguistic area. The Beharis consider and call themselves Hindustanis. Four different vernaculars (for, Hindustani is the vernacular of at least the better class Muhammadans in Behar, and they form the model gentry of the province) are spoken in Behar, and of these one (Hindustani) is, besides, the common *lingua franca* of the province, and another (Bhojpuri) prevails over a larger area outside Behar than in Behar itself. Three of the vernaculars, *viz.*, Bhojpuri, Maithili and Magha occupy the position of *patois* merely, for they are domineered over by the all-powerful Hindustani. They have so far passed the bounds of mutual intelligibility as to have acquired distinct names, and their family relationship, though a matter of interest to the scholar, is practically little recognised.

Mr. Grierson proposes that some one of these three vernaculars should be made the literary language for all Behar. Suppose Bhojpuri is the dialect selected. The Bhojpuri-speaking population would in so far be benefited by this that a large proportion of them, that have now to learn Hindustani as a second language in addition to their own mother-tongue, would be rid of the necessity of learning it. The benefit to the non-Bhojpuri population of Behar would be much less, for the benefit to them must be measured only by the difference between the mental effort that a non-Bhojpuri Behari would have to put forth in acquiring Hindustani, and that which he would have to put forth in

acquiring Bhojpuri.* The difference would be but small, and the benefit would accordingly be small. The same would be true, *mutatis mutandis*, if any other Behar dialect were to be made the literary language for the province. Against this benefit has to be set, however, the disadvantage of dis-unity in place of the unity represented by the common adoption of Hindustani as the urban language and common *lingua franca*. On Mr. Grierson's own admission, in Patna, Behar and other Muhammadan towns (in the whole of the Patna division of Behar at least the cities are all Muhammadan in Mr. Grierson's sense), Hindustani is the current language. The carrying out of his proposal would, therefore, on his own premises, certainly set city against country in the best part of the province, the part in which Patna, its historical capital, is situated,

* Mr. Grierson charges his opponents with being illogical, but his own logic is not always of the best. How Bhojpuri, Maithili, and Magga (Magadhi, as he styles it) could be 'equally understood' over all Behar quite passeth our comprehension. That any of them would be nearly equally intelligible, or rather nearly equally unintelligible, over the area covered by the other two is the only tenable position. Mr. Grierson is further illogical in maintaining that any of the three dialects would do equally well for a standard literary Behari. The Bhojpuri area is much larger than either the Maithili or the Magga, and the Bhojpuri population, too, is far more numerous and enterprising than the Maithili or the Magga, as census enumerations and emigration returns incontestably prove. Intellectually, again, the Bhojpuri area, if not Bhojpuris, must come first, for Banares, lies within it. The Maithils are intellectual likewise, having a school of learning of their own. As for Magadh, since the days of Buddhism, she has been in a state of intellectual torpor. To say, then that, in imposing Maithili, or Magga, or Bhojpuri upon all Beharis, the resisting forces to be overcome would be the same in each case, is to disregard the elements of quantity and quality altogether—a procedure opposed to the very fundamental principles of logic. There are other illogical state-

ments in Mr. Grierson's paper besides these, but they need not here be specified. Mr. Grierson is not always very careful about his facts either. His statement that the name of Bidyapati 'is as much a household word amongst the inhabitants of Bengal and Bihar as that of Tulsidas amongst those of the Upper Provinces' must have moved a smile on the lips of every Bengali reader of his first article. In respect of Bihar Mr. Grierson says, that 'the graceful lyrics [of Bidyapati] are on the lips of every educated man in Bihar.' Beharis by birth and descent, who are pleaders, or Amlah, or educational officers at Chhapra, must be reckoned 'educated Beharis.' Now, I have ascertained that out of 42 of them, 33 are ignorant of even the name of Bidyapati, and the remaining 9, who know his name, cannot repeat any of his lyrics. I have by me the names of the pleaders (some of whom are my personal acquaintances) and the Amlah. I am also able to state on the authority of Babu Suryanarayan Sinh, of the Bhagalpur bar, that Bidyapati's name is quite unknown in the districts of Behar, south of the Ganges.' Evidently, then, what Mr. Grierson found, within his experience, to be true of Mithila, he hastily inferred to be true of all Behar, and put the inference forward as a fact.

and would reverse the natural process of 'carrying the speech of the towns into the country.' The prevalence of distinct languages over small areas must be admitted to be detrimental to human welfare. There can be no question, but that North America, with the English language spoken over a territory larger than all Europe, is very favorably conditioned in comparison with little Belgium, split up into two distinct languages. The fact of English being spoken or understood in North America, Australasia, the Cape, and India, gives English-speaking populations a great advantage in respect not only of interchange of thought and commercial transactions, but in respect also of the humbler work of the exportation of manual labour from the United Kingdom.* What a striking contrast does the extensive exportation of English labour present to the case of Belgium, where, we are told by M. Emile de Laveleye, the Flemish-speakers of the Western provinces find their ignorance of French a bar to their getting work in the great manufacturing centres in the Walloon portion of the country.* Would as many Hindustanis from Eastern Hindustan find work outside their respective dialect-areas as they now do, if they did not speak Hindustani, but spoke only their own local *patois*? Certainly not. Germans, who emigrate so largely to English-speaking lands, find their linguistic aptitudes and their actual knowledge of English of great account. The natural progress of human affairs is towards the breaking down of barriers, and we look upon the formation of the Hindustani tongue, and its wide diffusion over India, the raising of it to an imperial position among Indian languages, as one of the greatest benefits of the Musalman conquest of the country. He is blind to the future who thinks that Western knowledge will not rouse national aspirations † in the Indian mind, and he is blinder still who can believe that, in the face, not only of this resisting force, but of the palpable material advantages that result from the wide prevalence of a common *lingua franca*, minor nationalities could be created at will by Government (consisting, by the way, of foreigners sojourning in the country), in mere administrative divisions, though such divisions be as old as Akbar's time. An enlightened Behar, working out her own destiny, would never

* *System of Land-tenure in various Countries*, 2nd Edition, p. 269.

† I for one look upon the Queen's assumption of the title of Empress of India as a most auspicious event. There is much in a name, and though we have now a national Government in name only, the name marks out the line along which things are to move till the name becomes a

reality, and the Government of India becomes as independent of that of England as the Canadian Government is. With such aspirations for self-government all right-minded Englishmen must warmly sympathise. It is to the beneficent administration of India by its English conquerors that we shall owe Indian regeneration and unity.

dissociate herself from the rest of Hindustan, of which by tradition she forms an integral part, would never segregate Behar Bhojpuris from Bhojpuris of the farther west. There can be no denying that a considerable amount of difference exists among the Behar dialects, and it may reasonably be urged that each dialect should be made the medium of primary instruction in the tract over which it is spoken. But that Bhojpuri, or any other Behar dialect, should be made to prevail over all Behar is simply a monstrous proposition.* It is intelligible enough that a Bhojpuri, or a Maithil, who understands all the bearings of the question, should, in continuation of traditional practice, accept Hindustani as a general medium of intercourse, and ungrudgingly undergo the extra mental exertion † necessary to acquire it, in view of the large ends to be secured thereby. But for what ends would a Maithil sink his nationality (such as it is) in order that he might become a Bhojpuri, or a Bhojpuri sink his nationality (such as it is) in order that he might become a Maithil? Such a sinking of nationality would be analogous to what has been advocated in Bengal in respect of Orissa. Proceeding, like Mr. Grierson, upon mere theoretical considerations, to wit, the close affinity between the languages of Bengal and Orissa, several Bengali gentlemen have advocated the enforcement of Bengali in the schools and law-courts of Orissa. Orissa, however, has traditions and a literature of her own, and Oriyas cannot think it any way profitable to give them up in order that their land might become an appendage of Bengal, and themselves Bengalis. If I were an Oriya, I should be quite ready to acquiesce in any scheme for subordinating my provincial traditions and language to the purposes of a united Indian nationality, as, being a Bengali, I am ready to acquiesce in the same being done by the traditions and language

* Says Dr. Hoernle :—"Indeed, I am doubtful whether it is not more correct to class the Maithili as a Bangali dialect, rather than as an E. H. one," *Introduction, Gaudian Grammar*, p.viii.—The extension of Bengali over Mithila may be advocated with perhaps better reason than the extension of some one Behar dialect over all Behar, since even the Maithil written character is almost identical with the Bengali.

† This extra mental exertion would be comparatively small, for, although there is a large amount of difference in regard to grammatical forms, the correspondence in regard to vocables is enormous. Mr. Grier-

son points out a few differences in the latter respect, but he does not tell us aught about the proportion they bear to the agreements. Correspondence or close similarity of vocables between two languages affords a greater facility in the acquisition of one of them by one who knows the other than close affinity of grammatical forms, with smaller and less obvious correspondence in respect of vocables. For one who knows English, it is easier to learn French than to learn German. This last remark does not imply that grammatical difference is as great between E. Hindi and Hindustani, as between English and French.

of Bengal. But that an Oriya should become a Bengali, I should no more wish than I should wish a Bengali to become an Oriya.

It is on the ground of a close correspondence of grammatical structure among the Eastern Hindi dialects, and their difference in this respect from Hindustani, that Mr. Grierson bases his proposal. What would be good for India, ought to be good for other parts of the world. Let us see what would be the results produced in Europe if Mr. Grierson's idea were to be adopted and enforced there. The Romance languages of Europe bear a close analogy to the Aryan languages of India, and it is from the three most important of the Romance languages that we shall draw our illustration. The following quotations from Sir George Cornewall Lewis's *Essay on the Origin and Formation of the Romance Languages* will amply shew what confusion would be produced in France, Italy, and Spain if the principle of grammatical affinity were to be enforced in the spirit Mr. Grierson would have them enforced in Behar:—

"It appears to me that the Italian must be considered as divided into two principal dialects, one with vowel and the other with consonant terminations. The latter of these (*which closely resembles the French and Provençal*), probably owes its characteristics to the same causes which gave a peculiar form to the latter languages, viz., the larger proportion of Germans who occupied Gaul and Northern Italy."—p. 97.

"The patois of the langue d'oïl in Northern France and Flanders; of the langue d'oc in Southern France, Savoy, Piedmont, the Grisons, and the county of Nice are very numerous and are distinguished by numerous differences."

"In Spain there are the dialects of Leon, the Asturias, Aragon, Andalusia, Murcia, Galicia, Catalonia and Valencia; the latter two of which as well as the language of the Balearic islands, resemble the langue d'oc more than the Castilian or written Spanish. The islands of Corsica and Sardinia appear to possess native dialects different from any other Romance tongue. In Italy not only are the languages of the Northern and Southern districts distinguished from each other by certain broad marks of difference, but almost every town which was once independent has a dialect of its own, differing from the common or written Italian, both in its inflections and its terms. . . . Much more does the dialect of one province differ from that of another; sometimes there is such a difference that even the Italians of the other provinces, although they speak the common language, can with difficulty understand each other."—pp. 43-44.

The italics in the above quotations are ours. Had the study of philology made a little greater progress in the time of Napoleon

the First than it did, it could have furnished him with a very plausible plea for decreasing the incorporation with France, on linguistic grounds, of the adjoining parts of Italy and Spain, and enforcing in the schools * and law-courts of the incorporated territories the use of French, to the exclusion of literary Italian and Castilian. The case would have been closely analogous to the change Mr. Grierson advocates in respect of Behar. † There is no chance now of a French annexation of north-western Italy or north-eastern Spain; but if Mr. Grierson's principles were to be adopted, there ought to be at least two cultivated languages in Italy, and probably more than two in Spain, and the use of literary French in southern France ought to be discouraged and the language of the Troubadours revived.‡

* Napoleon did annex Piedmont to France, but he never attempted, I believe, to displace Italian in the schools of the country.

† Mr. Grierson says that 'we can only take the Eastern group [of Hindi dialects] by itself and the Western group by itself. To take them together would be as if we were to take French and Italian together, and select, say the cultivated dialect of Alsace as a standard for both.' This analogy, however, does not hold at all. Over no part of Italy has French the sort of currency that Hindustani has in Behar, and Alsace, by the way, is a *German-speaking* land in which French occupies scarcely as good a position as Hindustani does in Behar.

‡ Grammatical and other differences appear to be about as great between French and Provençal as between Hindustani and any of the Behar dialects. A comparison of Pro-

vençal numerals, pronouns, conjugated forms of verbs and a few names of common things as given in Sir G. C. Lewis's *Romance Languages*, (pp. 105, 106, 107, 108, 152-162, 162-165, 166-190) with the corresponding words and grammatical forms in French makes this clear. I prepared a comparative table of the whole, with a friend's help, but annex (as sufficient for the present purpose) a table of the numerals only, which are universally reckoned as test words, and the corresponding ordinals. It may be contended that a comparison between *modern* French and *old* Provençal would be inconclusive. To this it may be replied that the modern representatives of Provençal in southern France are likely to be farther from modern French than old Provençal is, unless it be that, contrary to what has happened elsewhere in the world, Provençal has remained stationary for ages.

Cardinals.

French	Provençal
Un, une	Uns, us
deux	dui
trois	trei
quatre	quatre
cinq	cinq
six	sex, sei
sept	set
huit	och, ot
neuf	nov
dix	dexe, dex

Ordinals.

French	Provençal
Premiers	Premiers
second, deuxième	segons
troisième	ters
quatrième	quarts
cinquième	quints
sixième	seizens
septième	setens
huitième	ochens
neuvième	novens
dixième	dezens

Instead of the Hindustāni area being ever likely to be narrowed by any process like that proposed by Mr. Grierson, the likelihood is quite the other way; Hindustani is likely to spread over all India in a more thorough manner than at present—to become the instrument of higher culture and of general intercommunication, and, what it alone among Indian languages is competent to do, to oust English from the position it now holds, and for a long time yet to come must hold in the country. The tradition of Indian unity is not to be abandoned, because different languages are spoken in different parts of India, some of the languages (the Aryan group) forming even a family radically distinct from the others (the Dravidian group). We shall take our lesson from the more advanced nations of the west. The difference of language does not prevent Welshmen and Scottish Highlanders from being members of the British nation, or even Basques from being Frenchmen or Spaniards. The wise forecast of Mr. Beames in regard to Hindustani may well be contrasted with Mr. Grierson's crude proposal. "It is difficult," says Mr. Beames, "to prophesy the future of this group [the Aryan vernaculars of India], so much depends upon political changes which no man can foresee. It may, however, with much probability be surmised that the immense extension of roads, railways, and other means of communication, will result in the extinction of Panjabi and the dialects of Rajputana, and the consequent general adoption of one uniform language, the Persianised form of Hindi from the Indus to Rajmahal, and from the Himalayas to the Vindhya. The language will then be spoken by upwards of one hundred millions of human beings; and from its vast extent and consequent preponderating importance, it cannot fail greatly to influence its neighbours. Gujrati will probably be the first to be assimilated; in fact, the difference is even now but slight, and the relation between it and Hindi is similar to that between Icelandic

<i>Cardinals.</i>		<i>Ordinals.</i>	
onze	unze	onzième	unzens
douze	doze	douzième	dotzens
treize	treze	treizième	trezens
quatorze	quatorze	quatorzième	quatorzens
quinze	quinze	quinzième	quinziens
seize	setze	seizième	sezemes
.....
vingt	vint	vingtième	vintemes
trente	trenta	trentième	trentesmes
quarante	quaranta	quarantième	quarantesmes
cent	cent	centième	centes
mille	mil	millième	milles

and Norwegian. Gujrati, separated by political circumstances from the rest of Hindustan proper, has retained archaic words and forms which have died out from the mother-speech, but no violent changes would be required to re-assimilate it. Sindhi on the west, Bengali on the east, will resist absorption much longer: the former owing to its fundamental divergence of type; the latter by virtue of its high cultivation and extensive literature, though it may be mentioned that Hindustani is already much spoken and generally well understood over a great part of Bengal. Oriya and Marathi may probably continue to hold their own to a distant time, though in both provinces the number of persons, even among the lowest classes, who are acquainted with Urdu is already considerable, and is daily increasing. In short, with the barriers of provincial isolation thrown down, and the ever freer and fuller communication between various parts of the country, that clear, simple, graceful, flexible and all expressive Urdu speech which is even now the *lingua franca* of most parts of India and the special favourite of the ruling race, because closely resembling in its most valuable characteristics their own language, seems undoubtedly destined at some future period to supplant most, if not all, of the provincial dialects, and to give to all Aryan India one homogeneous cultivated form of speech,—to be in fact, the English of the Indian world.*—On one point, however, we think Mr. Beames to be mistaken. He thinks the Persianised form of Hindi, *i.e.*, Urdu, to be destined to prevail over all Aryan India. This, we think, can

* Comparative Grammar of the Aryan Languages of India. Vol. I, pp. 120-121. I hope I may be excused if, in connection with this question, I give a bit of my own personal history. It was in the year 1859 that I came to have a definite knowledge of the relation between the two phases of Hindustani—Hindi and Urdu—and with the knowledge came the idea that Hindi was the language best fitted to become the national language for all India, an idea very gratifying to my youthful enthusiasm for national unity. Maturer knowledge and reflection has only so far modified the idea that I now hold that it is not Hindi, with its puristic tendencies, nor Urdu with its learned element drawn from Arabic and Persian, and its purism in respect of

Persian and Arabic words actually naturalised—but Hindustani on a broad basis, with a largely mixed vocabulary, non-puristic, but drawing its higher terms from Sanskrit, that is best fitted to become India's national language. I may also mention that the *Bengalee* Newspaper, some ten or twelve years ago, advocated the adoption of Hindi as a national language for all India. The Bengalee's advocacy, however, was one of imperfect joinings, for it advocated, if I remember rightly, the extension of Bengali over Assam and Orissa about the same time. Such extension could have only retarded the extension of Hindi. Mr. Beames's forecast about the future of Hindustani is then, after all, an idea pretty long at work in the native mind.

never be the case. Urdu, as we have said above, draws all its higher element from Persian and Arabic. It is, indeed, the only cultivated Indian language that leans upon Persian and Arabic instead of on Sanskrit, for even the Dravidian tongues of the South borrow all terms relating to religion, science, and philosophy from Sanskrit. The Hindus form an overwhelming majority of the population of India, and although the average quality of the Muhammadan population (that of Bengal excepted) is undoubtedly higher than that of the Hindu, there can be no question that the literate classes of the Hindus are more intellectual than the corresponding classes among the Muhammadans, and that the commercial instinct, too, is more largely developed among the Hindu trading classes (Banias and Chetties) than among any class of Muhammadans, who, occupying themselves for centuries mainly with administrative work have come to look down upon trading as an unworthy occupation. In administrative ability, Muhammadans, by reason of their past training would, no doubt, stand higher than Hindus. On the whole, however, there can be no doubt that the Hindu, in the future history of India, will count for more than the Muhammadan. The Hindu revival that is progressing, will gather strength as time rolls on, so that Hindus, even in Hindustan proper and the Punjab, may well be expected to give up Persian (Hindus, by the way, have never taken much to Arabic), as Hindus in Bengal have already given it up. At any rate, it cannot be expected that impartial British rule would effect what Muhammadan sectarian rule failed to effect, *viz.*, a snapping asunder of the continuity of Hindu national life, for nothing short of that can induce Hindus to accept Persian and Arabic as the symbols of past culture.

There is another reason also, of a purely utilitarian character, why Hindustani should borrow all terms representing higher culture, *viz.*, terms scientific, philosophic and æsthetic, from Sanskrit instead of from Persian and Arabic. Terms drawn from Sanskrit would, generally speaking, be of easier acquisition by Hindustanis, than terms drawn from Persian and Arabic. For instance, those who know the words *karnā darṇan* (visiting a shrine), *ginna*, can acquire the terms *kriyā* (verb), *karṇā* (nominative) *darṇan* (philosophy), *ganit* (mathematics) more easily than the corresponding words from Arabic, *viz.*, *fi'l*, *fa'il*, *hikmat*, and *hindsa*. Few will accept Mr. Beames's optimist view, that the influence of Persian and Arabic upon Hindustani has been wholly for good, for if, 'by the introduction of Arabic and Persian words, a very great benefit has been conferred on Hindi, inasmuch as it has thus been prevented from having recourse to Sanskrit fountains again and

again for grand and expressive words,' the language has, on the other hand, been quite flooded with 'grand,' if not always expressive, words from Arabic and Persian, which jostle out not only from the written form of the language, but also from the spoken, 'the honest old *Tadbhavas* with which Hindi abounds.' Conquest, as it gives inferior individuals of the conquering an ascendancy over superior individuals of the conquered race, gives also a factitious ascendancy to the conquerors' words over those of the conquered. Thus it has been with the Muhammadan conquest of India, as with conquests elsewhere. History cannot be ignored. Hindus should accept with a good grace the multitude of Persian and Arabic words that centuries of Muhammadan rule have caused to be naturalised* in the languages of the country, while they steadily set their faces against such words as have not been naturalised; and Muhammadans, on their part, should reconcile themselves to the fact that the language they speak and rightfully consider their own, is Hindi in its basis, just as they themselves are largely Hindu by race.† Eventually, as enlightenment advances among both classes of the population, a reconciliation may be effected between Hindi and Urdu, both merging in a broad-based Hindustani. The key to such reconciliation, however, must be the abandonment of the principle of borrowing higher terms from Arabic and Persian, and the acceptance of the principle that no *Tatsamas* are to be sought after from Sanskrit where *Tadbhavas*, *Desyus*, or naturalised Persian or Arabic words exist in the current language. For a long time yet to come, however, Indian Muhammadans and Indian Hindus would keep apart. While this split lasts, it would be just and necessary to demand of all higher officers of Government in Hindustan proper knowledge of both phases of Hindustani. If, in addition, the University demanded of Entrance candidates, an elementary knowledge of Hindustani in both its phases, the way would be prepared for an eventual reconciliation between Hindi and Urdu, and of the sections of the population that range themselves under the standard of each.

To rid itself of a sectional character, Hindustani should, as we have said above, cease entirely to be puristic, should ungrudgingly retain all naturalised foreign terms, and borrow all higher terms from Sanskrit, instead of from Arabic and Persian. It should further freely incorporate, as indeed it has in a large measure already done, all such words from local dialects as can serve any useful purpose.

* The test of complete naturalisation should be the fact of a word from Persian and Arabic being used by persons ignorant of those lan-

guages.

† Even the imperial house of Delhi had an admixture of Hindu blood.

Further even than this, we think, it ought to go, to justify its position as the *lingua franca* of populations speaking a variety of languages, some of which have a simpler grammatical structure than that variety of it in which books are written. We are far from accepting Mr. Grierson's theory* about the composite character of Hindustani grammar—a theory opposed to the very fundamental principles of linguistic development. But as a matter of fact, Hindustani grammar has received considerable modifications in different localities, in Behar, in the Deccan, and elsewhere, and these modifications have in many respects been decided improvements. Instead of being ignored or rejected, as at present they are, by those who write books, these modifications ought to be recognised, we venture to think, as living integral constituents of the language.† As instances of local modifications

* Mr. Grierson's extraordinary theory may be contrasted with the very sober one of Dr. Hoernle, of which, indeed, Mr. Grierson's is a deteriorated edition. Urdu grammar is, according to Mr. Grierson, 'the grammar of no one Indian dialect.' This 'grammar has levied a contribution from almost every language of North-Western India,' so that Urdu is 'both in grammar and vocabulary a most comprehensive *lingua franca*.' Why, we may ask Mr. Grierson, did not Urdu pick up part of its grammar from Persian, seeing that it has drawn so largely upon Persian in respect of vocables? But it would be enough to quote Dr. Hoernle's view of the matter. Says Dr. Hoernle—"This latter [High Hindi or Urdu] is merely a modified form of the Braj dialect, which was first transmuted into the Urdu by curtailing the amplitude of its inflexional forms, and admitting a few of those peculiar to Punjabi and Marwari. . . . It [Urdu] originated (during the twelfth century) in the country round Delhi, the centre of the Muhammedan power. In that spot the Braj dialect comes in contact with the Marwari and Punjabi; and there among the great camps (Urdu) of the Muhammedan soldiery in their intercourse with the surrounding populations a mixed language grew up, which, as regards grammar, is in the main, Braj, though intermixed with

Punjabi and Marwari forms, while as regards vocabulary, it is partly indigenous, and partly foreign (Persian and Arabic)"—Introduction, Gaudian Grammar, p. vi.

† The science of language would be an almost useless science if it taught us only the laws of the formation of languages, and the affinities between them. Study of the past ought to enable us to discern present tendencies, and make a forecast of the future, so as to be able to effect improvements in languages by a conscious application of principles that have operated spontaneously in the past. A study of cognate languages would be particularly useful in this respect. Any abrupt and extensive changes cannot be introduced into a cultivated language. Changes that kindred languages have undergone can, however, be introduced without much friction. Grammatical encumbrances which literary French retains, but which have been cast off from some French dialect, or from Spanish or Portuguese, it would not be very difficult to introduce into French-Conquest, and popular corruption of languages have in the past been the simplifiers of grammar. Increased facilities for intercommunication, the printing press and popular education at the present day, however, tend to keep up uniformity and retard changes. The only means of effecting

that are improvements, we may mention the rejection of the artificial distinction of gender, and of the case form in *ne*. In Hindustani as spoken in Behar by Muhammadans or Hindus, there is neither the one nor the other. Young men who have learnt Urdu or Hindi in the schools, would write in accordance with the standard grammar, but in speaking, the local grammar is seldom departed from. This is most shocking, indeed, to those who regard the grammar of Delhi Hindustani as gospel truth. The student of scientific philology, however, must accept the grammar of Behar Hindustani as an improvement upon that of the Delhi variety, which is recognised as the *standard* form of the language. All grammatical simplification has resulted from grammatical corruption, and the Behari corruption of Hindustani grammar has in reality been an improvement.

We have said above, that far from losing ground where it has already established itself, Hindustani is likely to be eventually accepted by all India as its national language. Such acceptance by no means implies, however, the forcible extinction of Bengali, Mahratti and other Indian languages that have acquired a recognised position. Human happiness must, in this, as in other human affairs, be the guiding principle, and this happiness would be best secured, it seems, if provincial languages remained in use for provincial purposes, while Hindustani came to be recognised as the common language of inter-provincial intercourse, and of all transactions of a national character. It is most desirable, however, that the difference between Hindustani and the other Indian vernaculars should be minimised, so as to facilitate the acquisition of Hindustani by those whose vernacular it is not, and generally to promote intercommunication among the different populations of the country. To this end it is necessary that words representative of higher life—words technic, scientific, philosophic or æsthetic should be substantially the same in all Indian languages.* At present the different provinces are working in isolation from one another, and so a divergence is growing up among the different Indian languages, quite unlike the convergence found among the Romance languages—a convergence embracing even English, and in some measure also German and the minor Teutonic tongues. The growing divergence among the several Indian languages can be remedied only by the institution, in the different provinces, of acad-

changes at present would be organised efforts by academies, or such-like bodies. Academies must not make the absurd attempt to make their decisions final, for there is nothing final in human affairs. Their

decisions should not even be authoritative. They should seek to persuade rather than to rule.

* The Dravidian tongues need form no exception, for they all borrow from Sanskrit.

mies or associations * working in concert with one another. I am far from proposing that the task undertaken by such academies should be the futile one so often attempted by academies, *viz.*, the fixing of the entire vocabulary. I wish only that they should exercise the humbler function of finding good vernacular substitutes for English words, of which vernacular renderings have become necessary in consequence of the introduction of Western knowledge, but of which ready-made equivalents are not found in the Indian vernaculars. To academies of so limited a scope there can be no reasonable objection, while the amount of good they could effect would be unquestionable. In addition to the advantage of a common agreement among the Indian languages in respect of the higher vocabulary, the plan proposed would ensure a better selection of terms than the existing practice of provincial isolation. In respect of cultivation, Bengali, by general admission, takes the lead among the Indian vernaculars, but in respect of its coinage of new terms even Bengali would benefit if it placed itself *en rapport* with Hindi and Mahratti. In Bengali many words have been coined without much thought apparently as to whether such words could coalesce readily with the current speech, and in some instances words have been coined that prove their coiners' love of the grandiloquent to have quite overpowered their sense of the ludicrous. Words like লোহিত সাগর and লৌহবর্ষ are of the latter class. Just imagine, East Bengal sailors navigating the Red Sea calling it লোহিত সাগর (Lohita Sâgar), or Bengali passengers on a railway calling it a লৌহবর্ষ (lauha-bartma). আগ্নেয়-গিরি (âgneya-giri), about as objectionable as the two words just mentioned, offers a striking contrast to the Hindi and Mahratti ज्वाला मुखी (jwâlâ-mukhî), a word not unknown in Bengali, but applied somewhat differently. If jwâlâ-mukhî were to be adopted as the Bengali word for volcano, there can be little doubt that it would mingle more kindly with the current language than âgneya-giri. Jwâlâ-mukhî would appear less strange than âgneya-giri to people who know jâlâ (to burn) and mukh or muk (mouth). The relationship of âgneya to âgun (fire) is more disguised than that of jwâlâ (pronounced jâlâ in Bengali) to jâlâ (to burn), while giri belongs to a buried stratum of the Bengali language, for, however much the word might be said to form an integral part of the Bengali poetical vocabulary, or to exist as a component of proper names, such as Nîlgiri, no one now would

* Those who associate the word *academy* with the many unenviable achievements of the French Academy, would doubtless regard the name with great suspicion. But the name

need no more be proscribed than the word *parliament* should be proscribed because the exemplar of all parliaments, the Parliament of Paris, latterly simply registered the king's edicts.

in oral speech ever use *giri*, instead of *pāhār* or *parbbat*, as the equivalent of mountain, any more than Englishmen would use *Alps* for mountain generally. *Āgneya-parbbat* is less objectionable than *āgneya-giri*. For reasons similar to those stated above, I greatly prefer the Mahratti *anka-gaṇit* (Arithmetic) and *bhūmiti* (Geometry) to the Bengali and Hindi *paṭi-gaṇit* and the Bengali *jyāmiti*. In the case of the last word, the close likeness of the Sanskrit *jyā* to the Greek *geo* has influenced the choice, but *jyā* belongs to a primeval stratum of Sanskrit, as is evidenced by the fact of neither Bengali nor Hindi, nor probably any other Aryan vernacular in India, retaining *jyā* in a pure or corrupted form as a portion of its current vocabulary. *Bhū*, however, does live in *bhūim* (Beng. and Hind.), and in numerous proper names. Too close an imitation of the literal sense of words of Greek, Latin, or other foreign derivation, may again lead us to new coinages resting upon quite far-fetched associations, as we see in the case of a recent coinage, बद्धिप (ba-dwīp) as an equivalent for *delta*. A pedantically-disposed Greek, visiting the delta of the Nile, or some other delta, may have named it after a Greek letter. This is no reason why we should slavishly follow in his footsteps. The name, besides, does not point to the most characteristic feature of a delta. Looking to the sense conveyed by the word, a triangular-shaped island in the midst of the wide ocean might as well be called a *delta*. Lastly, ब is a Bengali letter, and as there is no Devanagari, Kaithi, Mahajani, Persian or Roman character corresponding to ब, or to the Greek Δ in shape, a close following in the footsteps of Greek in this matter will not be possible for Hindi, Mahratti or Urdu. The Bengali बद्धिप must therefore stand alone.

As Bengali might gain by cultivating an acquaintance with Hindi, Mahratti, &c., the latter, too, would unquestionably gain by such acquaintance. The Bengali বিজ্ঞান (*bijñān*) is an admirable rendering of the word *science* and is greatly preferable to the Urdu *ilm*, the Hindi *vidyā* or *kalā*, or the Mahratti *ṣāstra*. *Ilm*, *vidyā* and *ṣāstra* are used in much wider senses than science; *ṣāstra*, besides, conveys associations not always of a scientific character. The Bengali *yojak* (pron. *jojak*) is again a handier term than the Mahratti *yojak-bhumi*. * But instances need not be multiplied.

We have felt it our duty to devote a large portion of this paper to pointing out the numerous weaknesses of Mr. Grierson's proposal. It is fitting, we should conclude, with giving him his due meed of praise. His very plea amply proves that he is a sincere friend to the people among whom he lives, and we only wish that we had many more such friends among his countrymen.

SYAMACHARAN GANGULI.

* For the Mahratti terms I am indebted to the Prof. of Sanskrit in the Jabalpur High School.

ART. III.—SOME HINDU SONGS AND CATCHES FROM THE VILLAGES IN NORTHERN INDIA.

PART II.

(Continued from the "Calcutta Review," April 1882.)

IN the former article the folk songs relating to religion and love were discussed, and we now pass on to home customs. Unfortunately my collection on this wide and extremely interesting subject is small, illustrating but one or two points, and those not new ones. In discussing it, the same difficulties arise as were noticed when treating of the love songs. There is the same broadness in the language, and the same extreme divergence between our ideas and those of the natives of India. In fact, many of the songs are not fit for ears polite, or, indeed, for English ears at all. This is admitted by the more educated natives themselves. With them, as with us, the polite will not allow to be sung by their families songs in daily use among the lower classes, especially at the marriage festivals, though what they do admit often sound extremely broad to our ears. Occasions of joy, such as a marriage, of course, are frequently celebrated by comic and facetious songs, and it must be allowed that, in the main, these, like the comic papers of our neighbours, the French, in order to be funny, become dirty. The native joker, in his attempts at poking fun at his neighbours and friends, seldom seems to rise beyond a pretty plain *double entendre*. The task, then, of the recorder and translator is not unfrequently a most delicate one, especially as the blindness of the natives themselves to indelicacy is not only complete, but often most comic. After making a show of recording what to the native seems a spicy piece of wit, and to him unmitigated nastiness, the collector explains blandly that this is not what he wanted : he would like a song sung by the narrator's own daughter or wife, for instance. The native says, he quite understands, and then proceeds to sing something nearly as nasty and indelicate as before. Of course, when one is endeavouring to ascertain, and to present, as true a picture as possible of native ways, one has to be very careful about rejecting anything at all, and usually it seems that the only course available is to admit anything that can by any possibility be admitted, and to soften down as much as possible in translation.

To take the songs relating to marriage customs first. Every one knows how interminable these are, going on for day after day, and in some cases continued, in a fashion, a long while after the marriage. One of them, which takes place subsequent to the

marriage and which is alluded to in my songs, is pretty enough, though somewhat childish. On the fourth day after the wedding, it is customary for the bride and bridegroom to fight a sort of duel with light sticks, covered with flowers, called *phulchharis*. In a short catch a girl refers to this somewhat feelingly, and evidently after some quarrel with her lord and master. The words are nearly all Hindi, and I fancy, like the custom, the song is a widely spread one. I got it from Kangra—

With flower-sticks, my cruel lord,

Beat me about the head :

It's not the sticks that wounded me ;

But, oh, the words he said !

Kangra.

Another catch I have, is sung during the *barāt*, or marriage procession, by the younger women. It is meant to be facetious, and is addressed to any man, young or old, they may happen to meet along the road, by way of chaff :—

I'll dye you a turban with flowery twirls,

my boy,

With a sweet crest-ornament fit for your curls,

my boy :

But do leave off going to those naughty girls,

my boy.

Kangra.

A curious custom, confined, I believe, to the hills, obtains in Kangra and Chamba. In India, where the bride and bridegroom are often mere children, the taking home of the bride is quite a distinct ceremony from the marriage itself, frequently not occurring till several years after it. In Kangra and Chamba, when the bridegroom comes to fetch his bride home, it is customary for her female relatives to take possession of him and to sit him down to a dinner. They then proceed to sit round him and to chaff him about his female relatives by singing catches and songs of a facetious nature tending to their discredit. Among the lower orders these songs are far too obscene to be translatable. The wealthier and better classes, however, among whom, too, the custom obtains, do not permit obscenity, and the catches I give here are such as are sung in the richer houses. Their main interest lies in showing what the higher classes in the hills consider to be harmless jokes, and what kind of thing they permit to be sung as such by their own female belongings. The chaff is not exactly what we should call nice. Thus—

Carrots and radishes* on my life

Were always my heart's desire :

Rāmā's naughty little wanton wife

Was always my heart's desire.

Kangra.

* *Gajar mālī*, 'carrots and radishes' is a common idiom for what is worthless in Northern India.

Gulâbâ's wife, who will eat lemon pickle,
Has in her stomach a severish tickle.

Kangra.

Another catch describes the unfortunate lady who is assailed as being everything that in a native's idea she should *not* be—

Rûpâ's wife
She sits by the road and talks so fine,
Sir, talks so fine !
And there she drinks whole glasses of wine,
Sir, glasses of wine !

Chamba.

The last of these songs that I have to present, is characteristic, and says volumes for the habits and manners of the Kangra mountaineers, who are indeed as dirty in their persons as can well be imagined. It should be remembered that this song is one that is current among the *richer* classes there.

The tick he gave a savage bite,
The bug he bit no end !
And that's the reason Sûbâ's wife
Let in her naughty friend.

Kangra.

In the above, the names Râmâ, Gulâbâ, Rûpâ and Sûbâ can be changed to suit the occasion, and are merely representative names, for the husbands of certain of the bridegroom's relatives. Observe the dislike evinced to mentioning the ladies actually by their names. This is a very widely-spread custom, and, as a rule, a Hindu, especially among the poor and ignorant, will never take his wife's name, nor a wife her husband's. It is not difficult to imagine that in cases in the courts embarrassments sometimes arise, where the husband's name, say of a widow, is wanted in order to define her, and she alone knows it, but will on no account give it up. In one case that came before me, this custom was cleverly taken advantage of by a number of *gawâlans* giving false evidence as to the implication of a certain man of their caste in a serious fight.

In these latter songs we see indications of what may be described as the most strongly marked feature of native married female life,—the dislike that the married women, at any rate while young, entertain towards their husbands' families. To tell the truth, they have, as a rule, ample reason, and the causes are not far to seek. With us the man and his wife form a 'family' in themselves as soon as they are married: afterwards, as time goes on, their sons, while children, and their unmarried daughters, are added to it. Under any circumstances the wife occupies the place of honour among all the females, even if special circumstances should necessitate her elder relatives, her own, or her hus-

band's, such as his or her mother or aunts, living with the family. She is the head ; all the others are her guests or subordinated to her. With us, a girl marrying knows that, whoever may be comprised in her husband's family, she goes to occupy the place of honour in it as a matter of right and established custom. With us a girl has every reason to join her husband with a light heart, and to become, heart and soul, one of his family. "A man shall leave his father and mother and be joined unto his wife, and they two shall become one flesh," is to her a maxim conveying a real truth. But how different is the position of a Hindu bride. Petted, as she usually has been, in her father's house, she leaves it for a life of drudgery in her husband's. There she is no longer the pet of the house, but the household drudge. Her husband has, if he be the head of the family, all his female blood relatives living with him, of whom the head is the oldest woman among them, and always his mother or grandmother, if alive. His sisters and his aunts look down upon the new acquisition, whom they appear to regard as the bought slave of the family, and accordingly force her to do all the drudgery they can. She has to grind the corn and draw the water and humble herself to her elders. If the husband be not the head, but a cadet of the house, then the position is worse still, for the new wife occupies even a lower place in the family. Naturally, then, the Hindu bride clings to her own people, and never identifies herself with her husband's : she dislikes her sister-in-law, hates her mother-in-law, and has no love for her brothers-in-law, escapes from them as often as she can, and clings for sympathy to her own brothers and sisters and parents, thus becoming the more or less innocent cause of that antagonism between the families that has filled Hindu folklore with sayings and proverbs, and constantly crops up in our courts in fruitless '*dakhal-zaujiyat*' and '*aghwad-i-aurat*' petitions. With us the proverbial dislike of the husband to his mother-in-law is rather a stock source of amusement than anything else. With Hindu young women it owes its origin only too often to very real causes. Next to the co-wife there is no person so universally held up to general execration as is the mother-in-law in Hindu folklore, and the peoples' sayings,—not a few here and there, but to be found by hundreds,—do not on these two points present a pleasing picture of home life. The men are powerless to prevent the evil, for despite his low mental conception of a woman's position and duties, as far as I can gather, the average Panjabi *pater familias*, is rather a henpecked individual than otherwise. The attitude of the educated towards their womenkind usually seems to be a resigned recognition of what cannot be avoided : they live in their own way, and leave their women to theirs,

which usually lies in quite other paths. Yet the marrying and giving in marriage goes on unceasingly and regularly from generation to generation. The women marry, because they can never help it, and the men to please those uncontrollable tyrants, their own female belongings. Otherwise, I cannot understand why an educated Hindu should saddle himself with a wife,—for in the vast majority of cases what is called marriage must literally come to that,—as there can be no chord of sympathy between the pair. He despises the superstitious puerilities in which she passes so much of her life, and is worried by her constant comings and goings to her own people, and by her eternal bickerings with her adopted relatives. She, for her part, has nothing to bind her to her *susrāl*, father-in-law's family, in itself a significant word. Why should she? Often her one object is to get away from it. In a hymn previously given,* in which, after praying for her own family, the wife, as she dips in the Ganges, prays for her husband's, occur these words—

Sixthly, my husband's sire, for thee
Who both clans gathered near,
Our houses joined by taking me,
I dip in water clear.
Next is my husband's mother's due ;
For me the house resigned :
The eighth his elder brother's, who
Half his to us assigned.
Last, tho' not least, for thee, my guide,
'To whom my joys I owe,
I plunge my head beneath the tide,
My grateful love to show.

I think no one who knows the natives and has to settle their family disputes will deny that the above is a pleasing picture of what the husband's family ought to be to the wife, rather than a true representation of what it is.

One can imagine, then, that the tears of the bride on leaving her home are no "summer's rain," and there is really something sad in the bride's parting song.

O ! my father, I am going from my home ;
See, the bearers and the palanquin have come :
I am going from my people and my home.

Kangra.

Dr. Fallon† quotes something very like this from the North-West and calls it the "*chāle kâ gīt*," or "parting song."

~ *Apnā, bīgānā, chhūlā jāe !*
Bābal re, morā naiyār chhūlā jāe !

* The nine dips in the Ganges.

† Article (ix) *apnā*.

which he translates—

My earliest friends, mine own are passing far from me !
 Father ! my childhood's home is passing quite from me !

Another song from the Panjab illustrates in the most pathetic manner the reluctance of a young girl to leave for her husband's house and the reasons for it, when her father insists on her going there—

" My daughter, go now to your husband's house."
 " But the pitcher is large and the well is so deep."
 " Then a small pitcher instead you must keep ;
 So go you, my child, to your husband's house."

Panjab.

Here are two songs illustrating the clinging love of the wife for her own brothers, her fear of her mother-in-law, who is made to grudge even the welcoming meal the girl prepares for her brother, and her wish to get away from her husband's house.

" Good blacksmith, forge a famous lamp,
 Tall and bright and fair to see ;
 That I may burn it all the night
 While I make cakes of flour white
 For brother coming home to me.
 Fill, pitcher, fill ; my brother thirsts
 For water cool and clear.
 My husband's mother comes to scold ;
 Eat quick, my brother dear."
 " She comes to scold ? Well, let her come !
 I'm but an hour here."

Kangra.

" O take me where the lilacs flower
 To rest beneath their shade an hour :
 O take me, brother dear."
 " But then the rivers are so deep ;
 You'd better with your husband keep
 At home, my sister dear.
 And barking dogs are loose about :
 Mother-in-law will find you out :
 You'd better tarry, dear."
 " I'll feed the dogs with cakes so sweet :
 I do not dread them, dear.
 So mother once again to meet
 Oh take me, brother dear."

Kangra.

Another song relates the triumph of a wife over her husband, who turns her out of the house for unsavoury cooking. He then has to cook for himself, and, not being accustomed to it, he does it so badly that he has to ignominiously call her back again. Like many of these household songs, it is very spirited, and vividly calls up the picture of the hill village, consisting, as it usually does, of a lot of hovels, all jammed up together as close as

possible. One can almost see the disconsolate husband getting up on to the flat mud roof of his hut, not probably eight feet high altogether, and bawling out for his wife to the intense amusement of his neighbours, who being, as they would be, in very close proximity to him, would know the whole story. Natives, too, are quite as inquisitive as the proverbial English village neighbour. However, the point of the song for our present purpose is, that the ultimate cause of the wife's trouble is made out to be her sister-in-law, who induces her brother to turn out his wife.

There is also an expression in the song which is worthy of note here, as illustrating what has been above said about the reluctance native women have to mention their husbands directly.

Laikar nandān bhāī sikhā-liyā, 'bhābo kaddh bāhe bāhr.'

Literally this means "my husband's sister, taking her brother, influenced him (saying) 'cast my brother's wife outside the threshold,'" i. e., my sister-in-law told my husband (*her* brother) to turn me (*her* sister-in-law) out of the house. In Northern India, *merā nandā kī bhāī*, literally, 'my husband's sister's brother' is a common expression for 'my husband.'

Once into our bazaar there came
Some lemons from Lahore.

Fine juicy lemons, O !

I ran into the fruiterer's,
And bought fine lemons, four.
Fine juicy lemons, O !

I sat me down and cut them up,
And took the peels clean off.
Fine juicy lemons, O !

And cooked them into curry stuff
Which made the neighbours cough,*
Fine juicy lemons, O !

His sister to my husband came,
'Why don't you turn her out?'
Fine juicy lemons, O !

'For making such a nasty smell !
And so he did, the lout,
Fine juicy lemons, O !

He turned me out, and then he had
Himself to knead his bread.
Fine juicy lemons, O !

The dough was thin and wanted flour,
He water gave instead !
Fine juicy lemons, O !

And then he got upon the roof
And shouted out for me.
Fine juicy lemons, O !

* The smell caused by cooking *neurā*, a condiment in which lime (nimbā) peels are used, is very penetrating, strong and pungent, making one cough at once.

And all the neighbours laughed aloud
 So queer a sight to see,
 Fine juicy lemons, O !

Kangra.

An equally spirited song describes the trick a mischievous young wife plays upon her mother-in-law, but at the same time shows clearly how much the younger woman dreaded and disliked the elder one. The song winds up with the discomfiture of the whole of the husband's family, related so as to show up strongly the girl's delight in it. It is very popular among young married women in the Panjab. Incidentally it relates a custom, proving how widely the position of a young Hindu wife in the family differs from that of an English one. The girl had been surreptitiously making some cakes for herself out of the household stores, and is caught in the act by the mother-in-law. She hides the cake by catching it up into her veil, or sheet, as she turns to salute the old woman. The salute means this. Young Hindu wives (or the girls of a family) have to prostrate themselves by touching the ground with the forehead at the feet of any old female relatives (own mother excepted) on seeing her for the first time in the day !

My mother-in-law went off to Lahore,
 And I was left in the house :
 So I looked about for what I could find
 As quietly as a mouse.
 The first thing I found was good white flour ;
 The second I found was ghee ;
 And the third thing I found was sugar sweet,
 And that was enough for me.
 The first sweet-cake I tried with them to bake
 Brought a sneeze from our old tom cat,*
 And the next sweet-cake brought a neighbour round
 To see what I could be at.
 At the third sweet-cake my mother-in-law
 Popped in her ugly old head ;
 So I hid the cake and worked at the fire,
 As though I were making bread.
 And when I turned round to make my salute,
 I bent down my head so low,
 That I caught the cake up into my veil
 For to hide it better so.
 Then I threw it into a safer place,
 Right under the old arm-chair ;
 But the old arm-chair was mother-in-law's,
 I took it away from there.
 And I threw it into a corner dark,
 But a rat pulled at it hard ;
 So I took it up and threw it away
 Well into the stable-yard.

* An evil omen in the Panjab.

A tiger was there, so father-in-law,
And brother-in-law as well,
Went out with big stakes and thick clubs, and things,
For to kill that tiger fell.
But the old man's leg was smashed by his club,
And the young one's thumb by his stake,
And mother-in-law got crying for both,
While I found and ate the cake.

Kangra.

A curious little song brings me to the end of my household collection. The point is not exactly clear.

"Swing to and fro, and in and out, swing like a snake, my fan !
My brother to his wedding went so brave with his green bow ; *
And wedded sits in gardens cool and idles, happy man !
My maids to see the new bride, together let us go."
"But what is there to see in her ? a stout and nut-brown girl,
And round her little finger quick her feeble spouse to twirl !"

Kangra.

The wandering 'faqîr,' who professes medicine, but is in reality a veritable quack and imposter, is not an infrequent visitor to the Indian village. Here is a song about him—

Give then, O faqîr,
Good medicine unto me.
Give then, Doctor dear,
Good medicine unto me :
So that my blind eyes
May bring back sight to me.

Panjab.

A didactic catch; turning upon homely customs, teaches the mischief of procrastination, and hits at the excuses the idle will make to avoid doing now what they prefer to put off till to-morrow.

"Mother, the sweeper is here at the door,
Throw him the rubbish that's now on the floor,
And let him take it away.
Daughter, throw it him now, you must, indeed,"
"How can I throw it with the child to feed ?
Let him come again, I say."

Panjab.

Moral : It never gets done at all !

The love of home is as strong in the native of India as it is in the hearts of the inhabitants of any part of the world. Wretched as it often is in climate, in soil, in poverty, in government, in its surroundings, mere hovel of mud as it is pretty sure to be in the majority of cases, the native loves his home with a passing great love. To him it represents all he really cares about, and he will fight, scheme and lie through thick and thin to keep it or to win.

* In the old days the carrying of fully got up for the occasion. Green a green bow in Kangra meant being is the lucky colour among the natives.

it back—when he leaves it for happier lands in order to better himself, all the while he is away, he is *pardesi*, an alien in a strange land, living as such, and going back to his home at the first opportunity. All this is well illustrated by a powerful little song from Kangra, the sentiments of which, I am sure, all Englishmen in India will endorse right heartily. It describes the joy of the mountaineer when off to his home, repeating the time-honoured illusions, which no one would deny him, that the water is sweeter, the air cooler, and the girls prettier at home than elsewhere.

O I must smarten myself for the way,
For, O ! I am off to my home to-day ;
Where the winds are cool and the waters sweet,
And a lovely face every girl that you meet.
Oho ! I am off to my home to-day.

Kangra.

In case it may be thought by some that I have infused too much spirit into the rendering, I give here the original.

*Ajñ main ne jāñ ho apne des ;
Sundar karke bhes, bāukā karke bhes :
Nirmal jal bārī * thandri puran hai,
Mukhrā dekhñā bes.
Ajñ main ne jāñā ho apne des.*

Connected with home customs are the children's and nursery songs, and I again regret that I have not had the opportunity of making a larger collection. One I have is a very sad song to put into the mouths of small children, but is popular among little boys. A band of children, seeking wild plums in the jungle, come to their favorite tree, and find that sheep and goats and squirrels have disappointed them. Their reflections on the possibilities of their finding the plums next year, speak to experiences that belong rather to mature life than to children of tender years.

How can we get them now ?
The hoof-prints of the flock
Have marked the plum-tree's root :
The goats have browsed the leaves,
And squirrels plucked the fruit.

We shall not get them now
Shall we be live or dead ?
Who knows, twixt this and then ?
Who knows if we shall care
To come for them again ?

How can we get them now ?
Who knows if he will live
A full year from to-day ?
Who knows if we shall find
A friend to laugh and play ?

We shall not get them now.

Kangra.

* In the hill dialect of Kangra more ; and in songs *da capo* when *bārī* means, moreover, again, once found at the end of a verse.

Here are four genuine nursery rhymes which I have heard sung steadily for the last year every night by a couple of *ayahs* to put my little son, aged eighteen months, to sleep. They contain the same kind of nonsense that English nurses love to indulge in. The only thing that I regret is that my *ayahs* seem to know no more and sing the same four over and over again to the same old tunes with true native persistence, till even the little being for whose benefit they are droned out, evinces signs of having had enough of them !

O crow, go crow !
The 'ripe plums are so many :
For little baby sleeping so
Two pound's weight for a penny !

Panjab.

For sleepy little boy they made
Sugar sweet and butter and bread !

Panjab.

Sweetly little baby sleeps
While the *pankhā* swings,
And the nurse for sleepy boy
The sweetest water brings.

Panjab.

Rock the baby's cradle now
With a silken string
For the Kābul nurse has come
To make the cradle swing.
Sleep my little baby now,
Sleep my little babe.

Panjab.

Perhaps there is no class of song more valuable to the historian or folklore collector than those which are local in their tenor. They record a passing phase of popular feeling, preserve scraps of often useful history, which would otherwise become forgotten, throw light on many an otherwise inexplicable modern custom, and frequently go to the heart of local habits, which, in the many contingencies of political life, it is so useful to understand. For instance what, when explained and comprehended, could better bring before us the life of the hill people at Kangra than the following ?

I heard that at the ferry there
You bouncing balls could buy :
I sent a lad to fetch for me
A bouncing ball to try.
He was a gaily turbaned youth
That brought the bouncing ball ;
The bumping, bouncing ball.

I came to Ravi-side to throw
 Some rubbish in : what more ?
 My bracelets break ! Let go my wrist !
 Sir ! what d' you take me for ?
 He was a gaily turbaned youth
 That brought the bouncing ball :
 The bumping, bouncing ball.

I came to Ravi-side to see
 If twirly-whirlies * swam,
 Bhaun's name is spoilt by water-girls :
 Sir ! what d' you think I am ?
 He was a gaily turbaned youth
 That brought the bouncing ball :
 The bumping, bouncing ball.

I only came to Ravi-side
 To wash the household broom.
 Those potter-girls have ruined Bhaun :
 Sir ! Let me go, make room !
 He was a gaily turbaned youth
 That brought the bouncing ball .
 The bumping, bouncing ball.

A cane in hand, you walk the road
 With light and jaunty air :
 But look behind—ah ! what d' you see ?
 Your wife is watching there !
 He was a gaily turbaned youth
 That brought the bouncing ball :
 The bumping, bouncing ball.

Kangra.

Bhaun is the name of part of the town of Kangra. There is one peculiarity in the song. The Ravi is made to flow in the neighbourhood of Kangra, whereas, in fact, it flows on the *other* side of the Dhaulâ Dhâr, or outer Himâlayan range. The first thing to be noticed in the song is, that it is sung by young married women, and in it a young woman, who, at any rate, is old enough to be made love to, is made to send for the *khinnûn*, or bouncing ball, to play with. Now the *khinnûn* is a large bouncing ball used by children and girls as a play-thing. They pat it up and down with their hands, to see how often they can do it. This childish amusement is very popular among the young married women, who continue it frequently till their first child is born ! Having brought her the bouncing ball, the "gaily turbaned youth proceeds to make love to her, which the girl does not approve of, and begins to make excuses to account for her being at the river-side. She asks him if he takes her for a *jhîrî* (a girl of the water-carrying, or bheestee class), or a *kumhârî*, potter-girl. Now, on going to a new place,

* The *bhamrîyâ*, properly a butter-stick with paper fastened at the top
 fly, is a common toy, consisting of a so as to whirl quickly in the wind.

the first things a native wants are an earthen cooking-pot (*gharā*) and water. At Kangra these are supplied by the women of the water-carrying and potter castes, who wander for the purpose about *sardās* and other places to which travellers resort. These people are notoriously of loose character, and hence the girl asks the young man if he takes her for one of them, and says they have "ruined Bhaun."

From the same neighbourhood comes a song as bright and lively as any I have. It describes an event in local history. Anjanā, the wife of Kesari, a monkey, bore a son to Vāyu or Pavana, the wind. This son was the celebrated monkey-god and hero Hanumān, who thus obtained his metronymic of Anjaneya. At Gurkhri, 4 miles from Kangra town, there is a temple to Anjanā, and a fair is held in his honour in October. Many years ago, so the story goes, a man attending the fair accidentally disturbed a bee's nest, whereon the bees dashed out and stung the people so, that they ran away into the thick jungles in the neighbourhood. The song composed to celebrate this event is common and very popular in the district.

O ! badly the bees stung at Anjanā's fair,
At Anjanā's fair, at Anjanā's fair !
I tell you the bees stung at Anjanā's fair,
And made all the people to the jungles tear,
And made the high-priest rush back to his lair,
Back to his lair !

O ! dear, how the bees stung at Anjanā's fair !
Kangra.

The above is so like many an English rhyme, that I give the original, to show that I have not departed from it in form—

*Bārī Anjanīyān den melen, bo, bhandoru laryā,
Bhandoru laryā, bo, bhandoru laryā !
Akhen Anjanīyān den melen, bo, bhandoru laryā !
Log sāre mele de jhārān bich ghusre, bo :
Gusārān tithu dā ghare bich baryā,
bich baryā !
Mātye, Anjanīyān den melen, bo, bhandoru laryā !*

The next two songs belong to the Gaddis, or Hindu shepherds, of the Kangra and Chambā mountains. A high range, the Dhaulā Dhār, 14,000 to 17,000 feet, separates the Kangra Valley from the protected Hill State of Chambā. Service under the Chambā Rājā is looked on with much favor by the Kangra villagers, as being remunerative and easy, because, though the pay is very low, Rs. 8 per mensem, the work is very light and the opportunities for peculation and extortion are unlimited. Small fortunes are, or rather were, made frequently in this way, and the chance of securing one tempts the Kangra people across the mighty mountains. The

roads, however, over them are as difficult as can well be imagined. The Lākā Pass, behind Dhāmsālā, into Chambā, which is much used, is 14,100 feet and the last 4,000 feet, or so, where the mountain is very steep, must be done in the snow on both sides, and the very violent storms common in this region must be braved. The Gaddis, however, go over it yearly, backward and forward, with their whole flock of sheep and families, even to the babies, lambs and kids, for the sake of the good grazing in summer on the Chambā side, but some loss of life occurs every year. The advantages of the Chambā service and the difficulties of getting there are well shown in the following bright little song :—

“O come and take service in Chambā, my friend ;
O come and take service in Chambā, my friend.”
“But the passes are steep and the paths they wind ;
But the passes are steep and the paths they wind .
And I must take my babe in my arms, I find !
And I must take my babe in my arms, I find.”
“Well, and who cares for that ? Take service, my friend,
Come and take service in Chambā.”

Kangra.

Not long ago, when looking up Fallon's Dictionary for a word, I chanced on the following under article, *ghātī* :—

Aughat ghātī, mushkil paindā, godī men bālakyāndā, which Fallon has translated as follows, saying the quotation came from a *hymn*—

“Rugged the pass and hard the road, an infant in my arms.”

The words of this song correspond almost exactly.

Aukhī re ghātī, bikhṛā re paindā :
Godī men bālak yāndā, myān.

“Rugged the pass, crooked the path .
An infant in my arms, my friend.”

There must be some copying somewhere !

The other Gaddis' song, popular among the women of Chambā, prettily alludes to a natural and favourite amusement among them of sliding down the snowy steeps of their mountains.

O shepherdess, come and let's have a good slide !
O shepherdess, down the hill side let us dart !
Your husband to-day's not at home by your side,
How else then will happiness be in your heart ?

Chambā.

A few specimens of the village comic song or ditty wind up my collection. There is nothing very clever in them, as they consist merely for the most part of the silly plays upon words the natives are so fond of. They hardly admit of translation, the point of the pun, or *bon môt*, being necessarily lost in the process.

I therefore give the the following in their original as well as in the translated form—

Sārang phariyā sārang nān :

Jo sārang bolyā de,

Je sārang ākhe sārang nān,

Tān sārang mukh te jāe.

The peacock caught a snake

While clouds their thunder roll'd ;

Whereat the peacock screamed,

And so let go his hold.

Panjab.

This ditty turns on the many meanings of the word *sārang*, and the supposed habits of the peacock, of snake-hunting and screaming at the thunder or rain. The word *sārang* has seven ordinary senses : viz., (1) a musical measure or *rāg* sung at midday ; (2) a peacock ; (3) a snake or serpent ; (4) a frog ; (5) a cloud ; (6) thunder, and (7) the cry of the peacock. The words, as above quoted in the original, are purely Panjabi in every way, but Fallon's article *سارنگ sārang*, gives a Hindi version of precisely the same song.

Sārang ne sārang guho,

Sārang bolo de,

Jo sārang sārang kahe

Sārang mūnh te jāe.

Dohā.

I am inclined to think the Panjabi version the better of the two.

The other catch plays upon words much in the same way.

Bukī bole, "main ! main ! main ! main !,"

"Main men" māī jāe

Mainā bole, "main na ! main na !"

Baithā shakar khāe.

"I am great ! I am great," says the she-goat,

And saying "I am great" she is killed :

"I am nought, I am nought ! says the starling,

And with sugar sweet things she is filled.

Panjab.

The "*main, main, main*" lit., the "*I, I, I*" of the goat is, meant to represent its bleating, and the words "*main na*," lit., "*I am not*" of the starling are a play upon its name in the vernacular, *mainā*. The ditty is also meant to be partially didactic and to teach the lesson of "pride comes before a fall," or "let pride be humbled and humility exalted." Another comic catch comes to me from Chambā, and is a fair specimen of village wit, simple and transparent.

The shepherd climbed into the tree,

Sir, into the tree !

But the fruit fell out of the tree,

Sir, out of the tree !

Chambā.

Political songs are not within my province, but I am tempted to close this article with a catch composed during the late Afghan campaigns and widely current and popular all over the Panjab. It contains a somewhat severe reflection on our proceedings in Afghanistan. I give it in original—

*Mert sundar pyāri dī mandar men !
Hans, hans kartī hai, be, khali.
" Kābul kī larāt, yāro, sunkar mujhko
Ho, be, ruhi thī be-kali.
Kābul mārke kabze men lāe,
Jitī nahtn hai Hirāt gait."*

My pretty dear came to me,
And mockingly thus said she.
" What is this news about Kābul
'That goes not well to my heart ?
Kābul, they say, we have conquered,
But not the road to Herat !

Panjab.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ART IV.—ANTECEDENTS OF THE MODERN BOOK.

M. EGGER of the French Institute, published, in the autumn of 1880, a charming little volume entitled *Histoire du Livre*. Although he states it to be only a collection of papers written originally for an educational *Magazine*, and making no claim to erudition, the practical scholar is seen throughout; and the narrative, if popular, is supplemented by a list of authorities which will aid those who care to pursue the subject in making further investigations. The assistance of M. Egger has been freely taken in the following sketch, but the facts have been differently arranged and new ones added.

In tracing back the beautiful fabric we now associate with the idea of a book, to the earliest productions serving the same end, we need not insist on any rigid definition of the object. There seems an innate passion in men for recording events and expressing sentiments. Perfect savages attempt to perpetuate the memory of fights, or their love of the dead.* A string of skulls,—a heap of stones, such are their rude devices in these directions. Then come songs—for joy, or as dirges, or sometimes again as incantations; and their existence involves the discovery of a gift in those who can make or sing them. And so, as civilisation slowly moves on,—even before the acquisition of an alphabet,—not to say, the invention of writing materials,—we find poems of great length composed and committed to memory. And the bards who repeat them, with or without music, become living volumes,—to be opened out whenever a listening crowd is collected,—under the old oaks, or by the margin of the sea. And so popular are these recitals, that they long survive the necessity which suggested them. The Finnish national epic has, almost in the present generation, been reduced to writing for the first time, from the mouths of itinerant minstrels. Then, historical events come to be recorded in picture language, and edicts and laws perpetuated on plates of metal stored on shelves, or hung up in places of resort. The Greek traveller, Pausanias, saw in a shrine in Bœotia, the *Works and Days* of Hesiod, engraved on long sheets of lead. It would be difficult to say what attribute of a book was wanting here, and this copy of the poet was without question of great antiquity. But we are not called upon to refine, and may, with little fear of being far wrong, commence the biography of the European book in the seventh century before Christ, when papyrus was introduced into Greece from Egypt. The value of this plant was, doubtless, known

* *Histoire du Livre* par E. Egger 1880.
Membre del' Institut, Paris: Hetzels,

long before, in the land of its birth, but the Egyptians were a peculiar people, self-absorbed, satisfied with their own advantages, and, like the Chinese, jealous of the interference of strangers.

But what was papyrus? Papyrus was a beautiful sedge which once grew luxuriantly on the banks of the Nile, but is now, it is said, no longer to be found there. Those, however, who are desirous of making its acquaintance can do so, any summer day, in the Water-lily house at Kew gardens, where it flourishes with great vigour. It perhaps first attracted the attention of Egyptian boatmen as suiting them for ropes and other tackle, but it was early known as affording a species of mat, which, after manipulation, became available for writing purposes. We associate the idea of paper so commonly with dried pulp, that it is important to remember that this invention was wholly different. In the Kew guide, the botanist, Oliver, gives an account of the adaptation of the plant to its world-renowned purpose. "The pith-like tissues," he writes, "of the larger flowering stems, cut into thin strips, united together by narrowly overlapping margins, and then crossed, under pressure, by a similar arrangement of strips at right angles constituted the * papyrus of antiquity." It must be confessed that this reads a little like Dr. Johnson's perplexing definition of network, yet the mat-like character of the production will be readily seen. It may be added, that a sister plant to the papyrus of Egypt—another species of the same genus of sedge—supplies, from the banks of the Gauges, a delicate matting for household purposes, widely celebrated for its coolness and elegance at the present day. The Greeks must have found the newly introduced paper brittle. It had to be rolled round a staff and would not admit of folding. Perhaps this characteristic prevented any attempt being made to form an impression on it, for it cannot be doubted that, in an indistinct way, some idea of impression was abroad. The Babylonian bricks were very ancient, and if their fabrication is considered, it will be seen to contain more than a hint of printing. For the symbols were cut in relief on wood placed upon wet clay and then subjected to pressure. There is an anecdote extant which gives another glimpse of the thought ultimately destined to revolutionise the world. It is related that a Greek General, in the fourth century B. C., whilst sacrificing before an engagement, secretly wrote on his hand backwards the word *Nika*, and, applying it with force to the liver of the victim, showed the supposed omen to the soldiers, the letters being legibly imprint-

* The word *Papyrus* was used for the plant, and the material formed from it. *Bublos* is another name for the plant: whence *bible* which, as late as Chaucer's time, meant any book,

not the sacred one alone. *Liber* is inner bark, but *book* refers to tables of *beech*. In German, a beech is *buche*.

ed from left to right. But the notion was not to fructify for centuries, and lay in a condition of suspended vitality, like a grain of wheat in the folds of a mummy.

Hellas had got her letters from Phœnicia, and when once she was provided with paper from the Nile, the rapidity of her intellectual production was most striking. When we take up the oldest of the Greek plays, we have to reflect that there was a splendid lyric literature already lying in the past. As time wore on, books of every sort multiplied: private persons made collections, and the principal towns formed libraries. Some works were so common, that in the era of the Peloponnesian war, Alcibiades is related, characteristically enough, to have inflicted personal chastisement on a schoolmaster for not possessing a copy of Homer. Volumes were counted by the thousand; but they doubtless often contained less matter than the quantity we associate with the word. Whatever length of written substance was separately rolled was a cylindros, or as it was afterwards called in Latin, a volumen, from whence our term. The libraries at Alexandria and Pergamum were especially celebrated, though, with regard to the number of volumes they contained, a document discovered not long since assigns so high a figure to one of them, as to throw the subject into some confusion. Lower totals seem safer, and we can form a fair idea of the scale from apparently trustworthy testimony. Seneca says that 40,000 volumes were burnt at Alexandria during the wars; and Aulus Gellius, in Trajan's time, states that the collection stood at 70,000 then. Perhaps in the interval many of the missing books had been restored. In gauging the probability of numbers, it must be borne in mind, that multiplied copies of the same work were doubtless admitted, and that foreign or barbarian literature was not excluded.

The influence of Greek culture on the Roman mind, which may be roughly said to have taken its rise from the capture of Tarentum and Syracuse, soon gave activity to the manufacture of books in Italy, and this so increased, that in the time of the early Cæsars we not only find the copying of rolls carried on, on a vast scale, but mark the existence of many of the elegancies, and even the fopperies, which spring up when the possession of works of literature becomes the rage. Thanks to the agreeable communicativeness of the writers of the day, we can form an idea of some of the experiences of a man of letters in Imperial Rome. His bookseller's shop was easily to be distinguished by the advertisements on the door-posts or portico pillars. It would be situated in the Forum, near the Curia, or perhaps in the Vicus Sandalarius, or indeed in any much frequented place; though those mentioned are known to have been favourite localities. Outside the shop,

the book-rolls were carefully arranged in pigeon-holes. One is inclined to hope that some were left open and within reach—where that little boy, described by Juvenal, on his way to school, accompanied by a slave no bigger than himself, carrying his satchel, might peep in and refresh his aspirations after becoming a great man. The volume itself was a pretty object; its paper whitened, and polished with pumice stone; and tinted, too, in places with vermilion. The ends of the cane round which the manuscript was rolled, were ornamented with metal buttons, or ivory terminals. Outside cases were purple or yellow; the title, tastefully written, was tied round a worked end of the stuff; and when the dainty object was taken up, it smelt of oil of cedar. Ovid especially bargains that the first instalment of his *Woes* shall not appear in the attractive garb usual at the time, which he rightly judged unsuited to the sorrowful character of his verses. Books were fairly cheap: Martial says, that a copy of his writings could be obtained at the shop of Atrectus, opposite Cæsar's Forum, for five denarii, which would be about five francs; but of course due allowance must be made for the difference in the value of money. Publishing was so good a thing, that Atticus, the friend of Cicero, seems to have been attracted to it as a speculation, and a firm like that of the Sosii, in Horace's time, was doubtless opulent. But the man who lived by his pen appears in that age, as in some others, to have had a rough time of it; and the poet in Petronius, who excused his shabby clothes to his companion, by explaining that intellectual tastes were not remunerative, hit on a grievance which has often come up again since.

Although papyrus grew both in Sicily and in Syria, the monopoly of the manufactured article was long confined to Egypt, and the circumstances of the country occasionally rendered it scarce. Some two hundred years before our era, a difficulty probably of this sort drew attention, at the learned city of Pergamum, to an art long known amongst the Ionians, of preparing the skins of animals for a writing material. Great pains were taken and considerable notoriety was obtained for the substance,—the *charta pergamena*—as it came to be called: a name, indeed, it has never lost, for parchment, in old French *pergamain*, and in the German of to-day, *pergament*, refers to the ancient University, if the term may pass, on the banks of the Caicus. But parchment, though destined to play an important part in the middle ages, was a co-adjutor, but could scarcely rank as a rival, of papyrus in classical times. Papyrus differed very much in its quality: the character of the tissue depended upon its position: the innermost was of greatest value, and, being at first reserved for

sacred writing, was termed the Hieratic. When, however, the Roman empire reached the Nile, adulation bestowed on the first quality the name of Augustus,—on the second that of Livia. Other distinctions were taken from the place where the article was made, such as Saitic, the Teneotic, and so on, and one kind was called Fannian, from a clever specialist, who, by careful processes, could render a common quality almost as good as the more expensive sorts. If we are disposed to wonder at the great multiplication of copies of books consequent on the increase of public and private libraries, we must bear in mind that the work was effected by slave labour. Not only were educated slaves constantly reproducing manuscripts, but bodies of them would be collected in the same apartment where a book was read out and multiplied at once by a hundred hands; a process, doubtless, leading to those clerical errors of which Cicero and others so bitterly complained. The Greek anthology gives the implements of writing,—writing that is with ink, for the wax tablets were generally used for letters and memoranda. There was the soft lead for drawing lines; the pen—a joint of the Calamus palm; the ink—a mixture of lamp-black and gum, (though Pliny seems to indicate the addition of oxide of copper); a knife for cutting,—a stone for smoothing the pen; and a sponge for erasion, perhaps also put into the inkstands, as orientals put cotton into theirs. All these equipments were transferred to Rome. Calligraphy was much encouraged—indeed, we learn that at one time, in the island of Teos, there had been competitions of calligraphists, for prizes. One form of excellence in this art was writing with excessive minuteness; an accomplishment which led to curiosities of literature. Cicero is said to have seen an Iliad that could be enclosed in a nut-shell, and Martial speaks of a wonderful diamond edition of Livy on parchment. He declares he has scarcely room on his scanty shelf for ordinary copies, but here the historian *pellibus exiguus arctatur*, which if the skins were joined together, might even mean one volume. The varieties of paper—the different degrees of beauty in writing, naturally opened the door to connoisseurship in the copies of an author. Aulus Gellius tells us that the critics often met at the booksellers' shops, and there they discussed doubtless not only grammar and etymology, but what may be called the dandyism of literature. An autograph specimen of an author was considered a great prize and the fact often led to gross impositions. The impostors were clever Greek adventurers, and the dupes Roman millionaires, who wished to possess the correct thing in books. The buying public is not always synonymous with the reading or learned public, and these rich people sometimes desired to be the owners

of volumes they did not care to open. One wealthy voluptuary, we are told of, who kept slaves to read up quotations, and to post him in good things before his guests arrived at dinner. And Trimalchion, it will be remembered, declared with great magnificence, *Tres bibliothecas habeo!* But these follies did not escape satire, and well-deserved ridicule will be found in Seneca, of those whose knowledge of their libraries went no further than the titles of the books.

As yet, mention has only been made of rolls of papyrus or parchment, but there was another arrangement creeping in which was in the end altogether to supersede the idea of the staff and the long winding strips. It had been customary to join two, three, or more, writing tablets together in a form of which our modern folding photograph case may give an idea. But a work came to be sometimes composed of leaves of papyrus laid one on the other—secured by a thread, and pressed between boards or sheets of parchment—or parchment might alternate with papyrus. These paged books had been encouraged by Julius Cæsar, (for his steam-hammer intellect could crack a walnut as well as shiver an iron bar,)—and the *Fasti* may have been published in such a shape,—since Ovid, at the commencement, says that his page (*pagina*) is affected with awe at the coming criticism of Germanicus. They were called *codices*, a word which has since acquired a more restricted meaning. No one, perhaps, can read of the immense extent of slave labour in connexion with manuscripts;—the numberless collections of written volumes (there were said to be in Rome alone, at one time, twenty-seven public libraries); the great executive skill of the librarians, some of whose names—Varro, Julius Hyginus, Cornelius, Alexander, &c.,—have come down to us as synonyms almost of learned activity, without wondering how it is that so much of ancient literature has been lost. Accidents by fire were certainly very frequent, and, as the Empire declined, the inroads of destructive barbarians must have made havoc of books, as of other property. But the truth is, that Christianity, as it gradually spread, by changing the intellectual aspirations of man, lessened the interest in authors who appealed only to the reason, or sought to delight the fancy, without consoling the conscience. It is not true that the new religion discouraged the preparation of manuscripts; the writings of the Fathers were, many of them, on a prodigious scale. And what shall be said of such an undertaking as the polyglot of Origen? Nor can it be alleged that the beauty of the art of transcription was in any way lost. But the taste for the ancients in a measure died out, and the industry of the copyist was directed to the multiplication of theological treatises, manuals of devotion, decrees of councils,

and the lives and miracles of the saints. The lamp of learning sank to an ecclesiastical taper, considered, not unreasonably, illuminative enough for a world rapidly approaching a catastrophe, in which time itself would not escape extinction. For in thinking of and judging those ages, it must always be remembered how prevalent the belief occasionally became that the end was not far distant. And so it came about, that when, after the epoch of Charlemagne, the taste for letters slowly revived, it was found that a large proportion of those volumes which had delighted the early Empire, had disappeared for ever.

But as the years roll on, we approach the interesting time when the monks took their delight in copying out such ancient authors as they could lay their hands on, in addition to the labour, not neglected, of keeping up the supply of professional literature. The quill seems to have commenced to supersede the calamus in the seventh century, driving it back to the east, where it still survives under the Arabic appellation of *kulum*. Fancy can scarcely summon up a more pleasing scene than that of the pious scribe, in the silence of the monastic chamber, or amongst his comrades in the scriptorium, endeavouring to express his love of a favourite author, or of sentiments which touched his heart, by a delicate clearness in the penmanship,—by tasty colouring or strokes of gold in the initials,—and by the prayer, at the conclusion of the transcript, that all faults might be graciously forgiven. Two inventions have to be noted affecting the material of books. The calamus had disappeared; papyrus had died out—there is a Papal book written on it under date 998, but it had given way to parchment, for general uses, even in Charlemagne's time;—the roll had fallen out of memory or changed its universal purpose for a particular one, when, in the tenth century, the East began to send forth the *Charta Bombacina*, or cotton paper, called also *Damascena*, which must not be confused with linen paper, as the two differed. It was thick and glossy, and well calculated for caligraphy, and tided the penmen over a great scarcity of parchment, till in the fourteenth century, perhaps earlier, the discovery was made that a substance could be manufactured from the dried pulp of macerated rags. This* sovereign invention, cheap, suitable, and timely, was due to the ingenuity of some unknown mind. It did not, indeed, at once banish other materials—parchment lived on, and exceptional substances, such as birch bark, were occasionally used, but in the final struggle for

* The dates of the introduction, both of cotton and linen paper have been the subject of much discussion. The point, perhaps, is scarcely im-

portant, but the statements made represent the opinions of some competent persons who have examined the controversy.

existence,—it survived as the fittest. The practice of copying old, or of writing out new, manuscripts had passed, with the increasing desire of knowledge, beyond the cloister, and a great number of lay persons were employed as scribes, miniaturists, illuminators, binders (both male and female), and especially, perhaps, it may be said, in the city of Paris. A product of this industry was the magnificent Missal, known as that of Juvenal des Ursins, unfortunately burnt in the city library, by the Communists in 1871.

The pressure for copies—the comparative cheapness of paper,—the reviving European intellect, clamouring, as it did, for nutriment;—all this excited speculative heads to new thoughts and experiments. A practice, at the end of the fourteenth century, of taking impressions from engraved blocks of wood,—sometimes for rude cuts of saints,—sometimes for playing cards,—seems to have gradually suggested the idea of entire pages executed in the same manner. The necessary pressure, at first supplied by a buffer or roller, soon took the form of a board worked by a screw. This process prevailed in Flanders before the invention of Gutenberg. It had glimmered, indeed, as we have seen, in early ages, and had always been obscurely present in coinage; whilst in China it had been rudely known for centuries,—nay, even moveable types are spoken of,—but the whole thing dwarfed by the frigid character of the nation, and the difficulties attending their alphabet. The glory of such a discovery as printing has been hotly disputed; but controversy appears to have ended in assigning to Gutenberg of Mentz the earliest use of moveable types, first in wood, and then in metal. Schoeffer, however, by introducing the engraved punch for striking moulds, and thus affording an easy and beautiful method of casting type, must be admitted to a large share of fame; nor can the goldsmith be forgotten, who first played the important part of believing in the destiny of the press and supplying the necessary funds. At this point a climax is reached. The Italian poet, Chiabrera, has some beautiful verses, where he imagines aged shepherds on the snowy mountain, watching with reverence the source of the river Po, and musing on the beneficent course which lay before that trickling stream. How it would flow, enriching and glorifying the plains, till, at length, flushed with a hundred tributaries, it should mingle its turbid waters with the Adriatic!—And some such thoughts might well fill the mind of one who bent in imagination over that simple, rough machine at Mentz. The comparison would fail in one respect, however. A river's increase is very gradual,—but printing, singularly enough, sprang at once, rude though its appliances were, into extensive enterprises. Its promoters determined to show, even in the infancy of the art, by their Mazarin bible, that scale would not be one of the difficulties

opposing progress; and it was this faith in the success of the invention which secured its immediate recognition. The use of vellum was gradually abandoned, and the black letter gave way, except in Germany, to a general employment of the Roman character: but these were merely matters of detail. Change in printing has almost exclusively taken the form of modification of some of the original ideas. We speak, indeed, of printing by steam, as we may some day speak of printing by pneumatic power or electricity, but we mean little more than that the same processes which were effected by hand are now carried out by machinery. Stereotyping again is a positive return to the old tabulary, or block printing, in principle,—though in practice, of course, improvements have been adopted. Photography, however, is a modern art, but at present only employed, in connexion with the press, for producing *fac similes* of old books: nor is it apparent how it can be made use of for new ones,—unless manuscripts can be copied direct. This might answer with Oriental writing, but the ordinary author in Europe would hesitate to entrust his reputation to the clearness and beauty of his hand. Even when fully introduced, printing made uneven progress. London and Paris, till recent years, were far ahead of Berlin in elegance of typography. Southern Europe does not require so many presses as Central Europe, and Constantinople got on without one at all till A. D. 1727.

A book cannot be properly compared with articles of material comfort, or else there might be some doubt whether improvement has been uniformly progressive. There is a desire to make a printed volume pleasant to behold; and, fortunately, each nation stamps its own character on the externals of its literature,—and we thus secure a living variety, instead of depressing and unsatisfactory sameness. But even at the present day unbound books are uncut also, and soon come to pieces,—whilst few bound ones will readily lie open; so that it may be said,—the reader's eye is more thought of than his emancipation from all annoyance. Fashions change; but the industry and earnestness of our ancestors cannot but remain admirable,—and the lovers of old books are the lovers of objects with much to recommend them. Some ancient equipments are, of course, out of date: we do not require the chains of Merton College Library. The student world is either more honest, or the police better regulated. But in grandeur and completeness,—some of the old folios are still unsurpassable; and modern ingenuity can scarcely improve on an Elzevir,—not bigger than a snuff-box—but legible to all except fading eyes.

In bindings, too, long ago, the choicest leathers, silk, velvet and satin; the precious metals and ivory, and the arts of painting and chasing, have all been pressed into the use of the artisan, and

we should hesitate to expend so much labour, time and money (even if the necessary taste were always present), as these matters have cost in former days. But in book illustrations, as a general rule, there is no comparison ; nineteenth century times easily carry the palm. This is especially noticeable in the cheaper engraving ; and it is difficult to understand why publishers thought it worth their while to pay any money at all for the uncouth cuts which tended so much more to disturb the reader's ideas than to assist his imagination.

J. W. SHERER.

ART. V.—MANDELSLO AND THEVENOT; THEIR TRAVELS IN INDIA.

IN the following pages we propose to review that portion of the narratives of Mandelslo and Thevenot, which describes their travels in India. We shall take first the work of Mandelslo, who preceded Thevenot by twenty-seven years.

Mandelslo had been brought up as a page at the Court of the Duke of Holstein Gottorp, and when the latter sent ambassadors to the King of Persia, he accompanied them and passed through Russia to Persia. There he lived at Ispahan with his good friend Olcarius, and met some English merchants who conversed with him about India, and excited his desire to visit that country. This design he carried out in spite of a very liberal offer of the King of Persia who desired to engage his services, and he landed at Surat, where he met with the kindest hospitality, both from the English and from the Dutch merchants. From Surat he went to Agra and Lahore, whence he again returned, and, embarking in a British vessel for England, sailed along the coast, paying a visit to Goa, and then continuing his voyage as far as Ceylon, where the ship remained nearly three weeks becalmed. During this time he amused himself in writing an account, not only of the parts of India which he had not himself seen, but of the countries to the east of it, including even Japan and China, according to the information he was able to obtain from the late English president who was returning to England from Surat, and from his other fellow-passengers, the Jesuits, who had been taken on board at Goa, and some of whom had spent the best portion of their lives in those parts. The traveller then also describes all the ports touched by the ship in its course from Ceylon to England, where it arrived safely at the end of December in 1639. The happy and youthful temper of Mandelslo, who was only twenty-four years old, imparted a magic hue to everything he saw, and it is but seldom he found fault with anything, not even the heat of India excepted.

He started on the 16th January 1638 from Ispahan, which was at that time the capital of Persia, with a suite of four persons; visited, on his journey to the coast, the ruins of Persepolis; passed through Shiraz, and arrived on the 23rd February at Bander Gomron, now better known as Bander Abassi, greatly debilitated by fever which had degenerated into dysentery. The French, Dutch and English merchants of that place treated him so well, and took so much care of him, that he was, after four days, strong enough to pay a visit to the Sultan, which was the title of the

Governor of the place. On the 22nd March his surgeon, John Weinberg died, and was buried in the English cemetery. This loss grieved him, and, to dispel his melancholy, an English friend took him to the sea shore, where he not only first saw the banian-tree (*Ficus Indica*), but had a foretaste of India itself in the locality and its surroundings. "At the foot of the tree," says he, "which produced all the others, there is a chapel built of stone in honor of a Banian, or Indian saint buried there, and whose tomb may be seen. The guardian of the sepulchre, a monk, seated at the door, received us very well, and offered us a collation of almonds, nuts, dates, and very good fresh water. He allowed us to enter the chapel, where we saw the tomb of the saint, strewn all over with variegated large beans, and above it, under an awning of satin, a small image of the demon with several lamps, which the monk is obliged to keep day and night without ever allowing them to get extinguished. This monk subsisted on beans and other fruits of the soil, and drank only goat's milk and water."

Bunder Abassi has relapsed long ago into its original insignificance, but was becoming an important mart when Mandelslo was there, for he says:—"Not long ago this town was but a small village containing a few huts erected by fishermen to shelter themselves, and the advantages of this port have been utilized only since the taking of Ormuz, to transform it into a commercial town. The ships of the English and the Dutch, with the vessels of the Moors, which arrive daily on account of the commodiousness of the roadstead and merchants of Ispahan, Shiraz and Laar, who bring their goods there, such as velvet, taffetas, raw silk, and who come in search of others, will in course of time make this town one of the largest in the whole east." He speaks of the fortifications, built with round bastions according to the ancient fashion, but provided with very handsome artillery. Trade was most flourishing after the cessation of the great heat in October, and lasted till May, during which favourable season Persians, Arabs, Indians, Armenians, Turks, Tartars, Dutch and Englishmen arrived. Only the last named came by sea, and all the others by land, with caravans which started on a certain appointed day from Aleppo, Bagdad, Ispahan, Shiraz, Lahore, Herat and Bosrah, with troops of camels, horses, mules and donkeys, escorted by some hundreds of men to ensure the safety of the journey against the attacks of Arab rovers. The English and the Dutch brought European and Indian goods for sale and ready money for making purchases at large profits. Although the inhabitants of Bander Abassi mostly consisted of Persians, Arabs or Indians, all understood and spoke to a certain extent the Portuguese language on account of the commerce which that nation carried on when it was in possession of Ormuz.

Mandelslo embarked on the 6th April with Messrs. Mandley and Hall, two English merchants, whom their president at Surat had called from Ispahan on business of the Company; and the voyage from Bander Abassi to Surat lasted nineteen days; the ship meantime cast anchor on the 25th in front of the town at a distance of two leagues from the shore, the river Tapti being so shallow at its mouth, that it was scarcely navigable by vessels of seventy or eighty tons burden.

When our traveller landed on the 29th April, he had first to pay a visit to the custom-house to get his luggage examined, and this operation was carried out so jealously, that the officials did not content themselves with opening the boxes of the travellers, but searched even their pockets. The Governor of Surat, or even the custom-house farmers, compelled merchants or passengers to part with things they brought only for their own use, and not for sale, at a price fixed by the officials. The Governor, in fact, who happened to arrive at the custom-house nearly at the same time with the passengers from the English vessel, discovered in Mandelslo's baggage a bracelet of yellow amber and a diamond, both of which he wanted to purchase; after being informed by Mandelslo that he was not a merchant, and that these things were precious to him for the sake of those who had given them to him, the Governor returned the diamond, but kept the bracelet, saying, that he would restore it afterwards. Whilst this dispute was going on, an Indian carriage, drawn by two white oxen, and sent by the English president, arrived to take Mandelslo to the lodge, as the houses of the English and of the Dutch were called, so that he left the Governor with the bracelet and entered the chariot. He found at the entrance of the house, the president and his Deputy, namely, Mr. Fremling. Both received him in the friendliest manner, and replied with much kindness to the compliments paid them by him, concerning the liberty he had taken by making use of their invitation, and concerning the politeness he had met with in the ship in which he had arrived. The English president who spoke Dutch very fluently, told him that he was welcome, that in this country all Christians were bound to aid each other, and that he had incurred special obligations towards Mandelslo for the affection he had thought proper to display towards his nation at Ispahan. Refreshments, consisting according to the usage of the country, of fruits and confectionery, having been laid out and partaken of, the president questioned the traveller regarding his designs, and, having learnt that it was his intention to return to Germany within a year, told him that he had arrived too late for departing during the present one, because there were no longer any ships on the coast, but that if

he liked to remain five or six months with him, and await the opportunity of a passage, it would give him pleasure ; that he would do his best to contribute to the amusement of Mandelslo during this time, would procure him opportunities to visit the best towns of the country, and would even send with him some person of his own nation as a companion, in order to obtain better facilities for seeing the country. Thus our traveller became the guest of the president, and some merchants took him in the evening from his room to sup in the large hall where the clergyman with twelve merchants kept him company, but the president and his second did not eat any supper, they having accustomed themselves to this mode of life for fear of overloading their stomachs. After supper the clergyman took Mandelslo to the great open verandah where the two gentlemen just named were sitting and enjoying the sea-breeze. This was the place where they usually met, and never failed to make their appearance every evening, namely, the president, his second, the first merchant, the clergyman and Mandelslo, but the other merchants never came there, unless invited by the president. At dinner he beheld a table of fifteen covers, at which at least as many courses of meat dishes, without counting the dessert, were served. Our traveller states, that the deference manifested by the other Englishmen towards the president was admirable, as well as the order observed at the English lodge in all things, but especially at the prayers held twice daily ; at six o'clock, namely, in the morning and at eight in the evening, but on Sundays thrice, with a sermon. There was nobody in the whole house who had not his regular hours for work, as well as for pleasure, they spent their time in the manner just mentioned, but on Friday evenings, after prayers, a special meeting took place, in which also three other merchants took part. They were related to the president, and had, like himself, left their wives in England ; they had departed from their country on the same day, and therefore kept it to refresh their memories, and to drink to the health of their wives. Some availed themselves of this little debauch to drink their fill, everybody being allowed to indulge himself as he liked, and to tipple as much Spanish wine as he thought proper, or to partake of a certain beverage composed of brandy, rose-water, lemon-juice and sugar, which the English call *Palepuntz*, and time glided away so pleasantly in this conversation, that midnight often surprised the company in their amusement. At the usual daily meetings only tea was drunk, which, says our traveller, was in general use all over India, not only among the people of the country, but also among the Dutch and the English, who considered it to be a drug, cleansing the stomach, and dispersing superfluous humours, by a kind of temperate warmth peculiar to this

plant. The English possessed also a beautiful garden, or pleasure house, without the town, where they went regularly every Sunday after the sermon, and sometimes also on other days of the week, to shoot at a target, in which exercise Mandelslo was lucky enough to win nearly a hundred *mamoudies*, or five pistoles, almost every week. After these amusements they had a lunch with fruits and confectionery, and then bathed and refreshed themselves in a tank, or square bath of stone, about five feet deep, where sometimes Dutch ladies had the kindness to serve them and to entertain them with much civility. The imperfect acquaintance of Mandelslo with the English language made him, however, almost incapable of taking part in the conversation, but this was obviated by the affability of the English president, who spoke Flemish.

As we prefer to give the personal experiences of our traveller, we may pass over his geographical descriptions of places which he had not himself visited, and confine ourselves to those which he saw. We may remark in this place, that in those times it was hazardous to bring so-called native Christians with Moslem proclivities as servants into a country under Musalman sway, as India was, and that exactly the same thing happened to Mandelslo which befell Pietro dela Valle not very many years before him, who had committed the same mistake. The valet of the Italian traveller, disappeared for ever, but the German fell in again with his servant afterwards at Agra, and had reason to be thankful to him, although they remained separated. It will be necessary to say something about this servant, or else the adventure at Agra would be unintelligible :—When Mandelslo was at Ispahan and had resolved to go to India, he took into his service a Persian valet, who was to serve him as an interpreter of the Turkish and Persian languages, which he was beginning to understand a little. This youth was born of Christian parents, from among those whom Shâh Abbâs had transferred from Georgia to Ispahan, where his brothers enjoyed some consideration. This circumstance induced Mandelslo to treat him with kindness and civility, and to promise him wages of four *écus* per month. He made the traveller believe that he had entered his service only for the sake of again embracing Christianity, but on making some acquaintances at Surat, he learnt that his maternal uncle was at the Court of the Grand Mogul occupying the post of first equerry, and able to procure him some good situation at the same court. This news induced him to leave Mandelslo and to seek protection with the Governor of Surat, who kept him for some time in concealment, and then sent him to Agra. Mandelslo was the more taken aback at his flight, because he had reasons to apprehend, that this youth, who knew all the particulars about a brawl the

traveller had had at Ispahan with the Indian ambassador, might give him into the hands of his enemies ; and certainly, if he had known that he had taken the road to Agra, he would never have had the assurance to go there, "although," says he, "from what happened afterwards, it appears that God had expressly sent him to that place for the purpose of preserving my life, which I ran the risk of losing, had it not been for his interference."

His friends also took out Mandelslo to hunt antelopes in the vicinity of Surat, but it would scarcely be worth while to dwell on this subject. The native inhabitants of the town were either Banians, Brahmans or Moguls, the latter being the most respected as belonging to the dominant race. The foreign population consisted of Arabs, Persians, Armenians, Turks and Jews, either permanently settled, or merely sojourning for purposes of trade ; but no strangers had established themselves more handsomely than the Dutch and the English. They had their lodges, their warehouses, their presidents, their merchants, their clerks, and they made Surat one of the most commercial towns of the East.

The English, especially, had established there the head-quarters of their whole Indian commerce, with a president to whom the clerks of all the other agencies were bound to give an account of their dealings. He had twenty or twenty-five merchants to assist him ; he had also the office at Agra under his directions, where a clerk aided by six persons resided ; that of Ispahan with one clerk and seven or eight merchants ; that of Masulipatam with fifteen ; that of Cambay with four ; that of Ahmedabad with six ; that of Baroda and Brouch with four, and that of Dabul with two persons. These clerks and other merchants were obliged to come annually to Surat in order to render to the president there an account of their administration.

The neighbourhood of Surat our traveller considered to be the most beautiful in the world, because, besides the gardens where all kinds of fruit trees were cultivated, the whole plain appeared to him to contribute to whatever makes life enjoyable ; and the entire time of his sojourn at Surat he spent in amusing himself in visiting the tanks, gardens and Musalman mausoleums of the neighbourhood. He also walked often to the harbour and always found society in the town, especially at the Dutch president's, who had his family with him, with whom he had not much trouble in making acquaintance, because his mother-tongue aided him much in conversing with them. After learning that the English vessels with which he intended to return to Europe, would not be in a condition to sail before the expiration of three months, he resolved to make a tour in the interior of the country and to

visit the Court of the Mogul by joining a caravan of thirty carts loaded with mercury, spices, and a large sum of money, which the English were sending to Ahmedabad. The president had appointed four merchants, some Banians, twelve English soldiers and as many Indians to escort this caravan, and to guard it from the robberies of Rajputs, by which name our traveller does not mean the military tribes of Rajputana, but thieves in the Champanir mountains between Baroda and Broach, who had strongholds in them to which they could retire and defy even the forces of the Mogul.

The caravan started on the last of September from Surat, and the first place of note reached was Broach, which was populous enough, but contained few persons of quality, most of the inhabitants being weavers who manufactured a kind of cotton-cloth named *bastia*, the best of that kind in the whole of Guzerat. On the 7th October Mandelslo arrived at Baroda, where the English feasted him sumptuously at their lodge, and that nothing might be wanting, they admitted some Banian women who had the curiosity to examine his foreign costume, which he still wore, although the English and the Dutch established in India dressed usually according to the fashion of the country. When these women found that the traveller objected to further familiarities, they felt offended and retired in high dudgeon. Their profession may easily be guessed.

The inhabitants of Baroda were likewise mostly weavers and dyers of cloth. After departing from this town, one of the English merchants accompanied the caravan as far as Wasset, a partly ruined old fort on a high mountain, garrisoned by one hundred troopers, who levied at its entrance a duty of one rupee and a half from each cart, but the English had a free passport from the Grand Mogul, and for this reason one of their merchants had accompanied the caravan. The soldiers had already taken possession of some of the carts and meant to compel the people to pay the usual duty, but they resisted and the escort opened a way for them by main force. Then the caravan crossed the river and halted at a village, where an entrenchment of carts was formed against any violence that might be attempted. It soon appeared that this precaution was not superfluous, for the travellers had scarcely finished their supper when the receiver accompanied by about thirty soldiers, armed with lances, swords, matchlocks and shields, wanted to speak to them. They allowed him to come into the entrenchment with three of his followers, and, on his asking for the tax, they told him, they would pay none, the passport of the Great Mogul being a sufficient protection against all exactions, but that they would, in order to get rid of him, and to show the esteem

they entertained for the courage of the soldiers of the garrison, make him a present of five or six rupees. This offer was disdainfully rejected, and the whole tax claimed; the man nevertheless withdrew, promising again to return next day, which he actually did.

At the same time a Dutch merchant, in charge of a caravan of one hundred and seventy carts, escorted by fifty Hindustani soldiers, happened to arrive at the village where the English caravan was halting; and he brought the news that the soldiers of the garrison had felled a large tree on the hollow road through which the caravan had to pass, in order to embarrass and absolutely to stop it. The English forthwith ordered four of their soldiers to go and clear the way, which induced those of the fort to send likewise some of their own to hinder them from working. As, however, they could not reach the spot, except by passing within range of the English muskets, the latter prepared to dispute the passage, and the former to force an entrance to the bulwark, whereon those who had been sent to clear the way, returned. Some musket shots were fired on both sides, but the soldiers of the caravan had the advantage over those of the fort, who came to a compromise, stating that, having no other pay except the tax they levied upon the goods which passed that way, they were under the necessity of levying the said tax from travellers for their own support; that they would be satisfied with one-half of the usual duty, and even with the sum offered on the preceding day; accordingly they received six rupees. Meanwhile their number had increased to one hundred, and the Indian soldiers who escorted the caravan, refused to fight against them, saying, that they were not allowed to contend against the troops of their own Sovereign, and that their duty was to defend the caravan against robbers only, who might attack it during the journey.

After this adventure nothing more noteworthy happened, and the caravan reached Ahmedabad safely on the 12th October. Mandelslo with his English companions, alighted about half a league from the town, in one of those gardens by which the tombs of men of quality are surrounded. Whilst waiting for the caravan to come up, they sent word to the English merchant in charge of their commerce in these parts, that they had arrived. His name was Benjamin Roberts, and as soon as he had received the news he arrived in his Indian carriage, which was all gilded, covered with rich Persian carpets and drawn by two white oxen; he had also a Persian horse led by hand, with trappings adorned all over with silver-plates.

After they had lunched together and consumed the remnant of their Spanish wine and English beer, Mr. Roberts took our traveller

in his carriage to the town, ordering the merchants to remain in the garden till the arrival of the caravan. The lodge of the English was very handsomely built, with several apartments and large yards for unloading goods. The room of Mr. Roberts, who was the director, had the floor covered with carpets, with a small garden in front of it, which contained a fountain; the pillars which supported the structure were adorned with silk cloths of various hues, but covered with white crape according to the fashion of the country. After supper the Director of the commerce of the Dutch came on a visit, with some of his merchants whose acquaintance our traveller had to make at Surat. When the Director had departed, the whole party accompanied Mandelslo to his room. There his host conversed with him till after midnight, when all the others had gone away. Lastly, in order that nothing might be left undone in the hospitality which he intended to bestow upon our traveller in consequence of a letter of recommendation he had brought from the English president at Ormuz, his host called for six dancing women, the handsomest he could find in the town, and told Mandelslo that, in case he should find in them anything more agreeable than their song and dexterity, he had only to say so, and they would try to please him in every way. These women admired his dress, but chiefly his long hair which came down to his shoulders, and they would scarcely believe that he was a man.

He was much pleased with the great market of Ahmedabad, called Maidan-Shahi, and with its trees, many of which were planted also in the streets, and pleasing to the sight by their foliage, which likewise afforded grateful shade to the passengers. There were also four other large bazars for the sale of all kinds of goods. He paid visits to the principal tanks, pagodas, and mosques, but, as his descriptions are not of much interest in this respect, they may be omitted. His assertion that there is scarcely a nation or an article of trade in the whole of Asia which could not be found at Ahmedabad, appears to us to be a little too sweeping. He is, however, quite right in observing that the public buildings were magnificent, especially the mosques and the house of the Governor of the province. He was delighted with the gardens of Ahmedabad, and the town being full of trees, appeared itself to be one huge garden.

On the 18th October the English merchant of Ahmedabad took our traveller to the Governor, whom they found seated in a pavilion. He made them sit down, and asked the Englishman who Mandelslo was? Whereon the former stated, in Hindustani, that he was a gentleman from Germany, whom the desire of seeing foreign countries and profiting by travel had induced to leave his country; of his happening to be in Persia whence he had come to visit India, as being the most

beautiful country in the world, and how, having now arrived in this great town, he hoped the Governor would not take it amiss that he had done himself the honour of paying his respects to him. The Governor replied that he was welcome, that his intentions were good and generous, and that God would bless them. The Governor, being a Persian by birth, desired to converse in his own tongue, but our traveller said that he was but imperfectly acquainted with it and would prefer to speak in Turkish, to which proposal the Governor agreed, saying, it actually was more used at the court of the Sháh than the language of the country. Their conversation was of no importance, and the Governor only expressed his astonishment that Mandelslo's parents had allowed him to travel at so youthful an age, as well as that he had met with no accident, owing to his wearing a foreign costume, and advised him in future to follow the example of the Dutch and the English, who always dressed according to the fashion of the country. The Governor would not allow the two Europeans to depart without taking dinner with him, and fruit was served before it arrived. A large carpet of red leather being spread on the floor, a table-cloth of cotton was laid upon it, and the dinner served according to the Persian fashion, the meat being in porcelain dishes and placed upon rice of various colours.

On the 20th October, the two foreigners again paid a visit to the Governor, but Mandelslo had dressed himself according to the fashion of the country, because he intended to make a trip to Cambay, which he could scarcely have done otherwise. They found the Governor engaged in business and unable to attend to them immediately, but he made them sit down near the gentlemen who were with him, and expressed, by a friendly glance, the pleasure he felt at Mandelslo's change of costume. He expedited several orders and wrote some with his own hand, but his business did not hinder him from smoking tobacco, keeping a valet by his side to hold the pipe to his mouth with one hand, whilst placing fire on it with the other. He abandoned this occupation to go and review some companies of cavalry and infantry drawn up in the yard in lines. He personally inspected the arms and made the soldiers shoot at a target, and the two European gentlemen, seeing him engaged in this occupation, desired to withdraw, but he sent word that he wished to dine with them, and meanwhile fruits were brought, a good portion of which they sent to the English lodge by his orders. Some time afterwards he had a box of gold, encrusted with jewels, brought to him, from which he took two small ones and helped himself from one of them to opium, and from the other to bhang, which is a certain pulverised drug prepared of hemp-seed and

leaves. After he had taken a spoonful himself, the foreigners were also offered this luxury, of which they partook for the sake of civility, although they had never tasted it before, and did not find it palatable. After a desultory conversation, chiefly about the reigning King of Persia, dinner was served. The butler was seated among large vessels in which the meat had been brought, and distributed it with a big ladle on the dishes that were served. The Khán himself took care to put some meat on them to let the two Europeans know that their conversation had pleased him mightily. The room was full of military officers, some of whom stood with lances in their hands, whilst others sat near a tank in the same room. The two foreigners retired immediately after dinner, and, when taking leave, the Governor told them that it had been his intention to give them an entertainment of the dancing women of the country after the dinner, but that, as his affairs did not allow him to do so at present, this would take place on another occasion, when they again did him the honour to pay him a visit; Mandelslo was, however, hindered from profiting by this invitation, by his trip to Cambay, as well as by his aversion to witnessing again the lascivious and indecent postures of such women, of which he says, he had seen only too much in Persia. According to his opinion the Governor was a man of intellect, but so proud and severe, that his sway bordered on cruelty.

Our traveller left Ahmedabad on the 24th October, after having engaged an escort of eight peons, or foot-soldiers, armed with lances, shields and bows. These men were extremely handy, because they could be used also as servants, and were always near the heads of the horses. When our traveller arrived near the town of Cambay, he sent for one of those Banians who were conversant with the English, Dutch and the Portuguese languages, and serve as brokers. One of these men took Mandelslo to the town, and, after making him lodge with a Muhammadan, because he objected to go to the house of the English, as their factor happened to be absent from Cambay, he showed him the bazars, the tanks, and the gardens of the locality; but the most remarkable thing he saw was an act of self-cremation, or *suttee*, to witness which his English friends took him, and we shall narrate this event in his own words:—

“The next day the English did not fail to make their appearance at my lodgings, whence we went together to the river-bank, outside the town, to see the Indian woman who was going to burn herself. Her husband had been a Rajput, and was killed at Lahore, two hundred leagues from Cambay. As soon she was informed of the death of her husband, she

expressed her desire to celebrate his obsequies by burning herself alive, but, as the Grand Mogul and his officers are Muhammadans, they try gradually to abolish this pagan and barbarous custom, and the Governor had long objected to the proposal of this woman, on the plea that the information concerning the death of her husband was uncertain, and that he could not give his consent to an inhuman act, and would, perhaps, have to regret it. It was the intention of the Governor to wait and see whether, perhaps, time would not moderate the passion entertained by this woman to follow her husband to the next world ; but, seeing that she pressed him daily more and more, he at last allowed her to obey the injunction of her religion. She was not older than twenty years, and we nevertheless saw her arriving at the place of execution with such pluck and a gaiety so extraordinary in a person going to meet death immediately, that I was sure her senses had been benumbed by a dose of opium, the use of which is very common in India, as well as in Persia. The procession was headed by country music, composed of hautboys and kettle-drums. Then came several women and girls, singing and dancing before the widow, who was dressed in her best clothes, with her fingers, arms, and legs loaded with rings, bracelets, and other ornaments. A troop of men, women, and children followed, terminating the procession.

"The widow halted before the funeral pile which had been erected for this melancholy ceremony. She had bathed in the river, in order to join her husband in a state of purity, since his corpse was not present on the spot, and she could not accompany it to the next world. The pile on which she was to be burnt, had been set up of apricot-wood, mixed with sandal and cinnamon. As soon as she had cast a disdainful glance upon the pile of wood, she took leave of her friends and relatives, and distributed among them the rings and bracelets she had on her body. I sat near, on horseback, with the two English merchants, and I think she judged from my countenance that I pitied her, and that she threw for that reason, one of her bracelets at me, which I luckily caught and keep in commemoration of so extraordinary an act.

"When she had ascended the pile, the fire was put to it, and she poured a vessel of perfumed oil on her head which burst into flame immediately, so that she was suffocated in a moment, without having been seen to make a single grimace. Some of the bystanders poured several jugs of oil upon the pile, which finished the reduction of the body to ashes, whilst all the rest of the company uttered lamentations that rent the air, and would have prevented those of the widow from being heard if she had had time to give forth any in the fire, which overwhelmed her with the quickness of lightning. At last the ashes were thrown into the river."

On his arrival at Ahmedabad, after his visit to Cambay, Mandelslo found a caravan of about two hundred merchants, Banians and English, preparing to travel to Agra, the capital of the States of the Mogul. The English president had ordered the leader to take charge of our traveller, and the Director of Ahmedabad added his special recommendations, so that the merchants received him into their company, and the caravan departed from Ahmedabad on the 29th October. The weather and the roads were extremely beautiful, but the villages were few and far between; neither did the much dreaded Rajputs incommode the travellers, as they were well escorted, and the caravan arrived safely at Agra, where Mandelslo at once took up his lodgings with the English, who received him with the same civility they had shown him everywhere else. He found the town twice as large as Ispahan, and all that could be done was to ride round it on horseback in one day. It was fortified with a beautiful wall of red cut-stone, and a fosse more than thirty toises (sixty yards!) broad. The streets of the town were handsome, several of them being vaulted to the length of more than a quarter of a league, containing shops of merchants and artizans, divided according to trades and according to the goods sold in them. There were as many as fifteen public bazars or markets, the largest of them being in front of the castle, where sixty pieces of all kinds of artillery could be seen, all, however, in bad condition and unserviceable. In the last named bazar, or maidan, also a high pole could be seen, as in that of Ispahan, for the Grand Mogul himself and the great lords of his court to exercise themselves in shooting at a parrot or other bird tied to it.

The town contained not less than eight caravanserais for the accommodation of foreign merchants; most of them being three storeys high, with very handsome apartments, warehouses, vaults, stables and verandahs, communicating with the rooms, each of which had a doorkeeper to lock it, and to take care of the goods it contained. All of them contained eating-houses, where victuals, fodder, and wood could be purchased by those who resided in the caravanserais. The town contained seventy mosques, some with tombs of saints to which pilgrimages were undertaken, all of them, however, and the yards adjoining them, served also as refuges to criminals, and even to persons in fear of arrest for debts; the Grand Mogul himself not being powerful enough to drag a man from such an asylum, no matter what crime he might have committed, because of the veneration of the people for their saints to whom culprits fled for protection.

The lords of the court kept residences both in the town and in the country, which were well built and splendidly furnished, and the Grand Mogul had several gardens with houses outside the town

where he sometimes retired, but his palace along the bank of the river Jumna occupied an area of not less than four leagues in circumference, by which our traveller probably means only the walls of gardens that surrounded the edifices. He describes, also, the position of the various gates and apartments of the palace, which would scarcely be very intelligible without a plan ; we may, however, mention that our traveller met his Persian valet who had run away from him at Surat, when he paid a visit to the palace, and that this young man offered to render him all kinds of good services during his sojourn at Agra, and, as we shall see further on, he kept his word.

Mandelslo states that he had been lucky enough to obtain a correct list of the treasure and personal property left by Akbar the great grandfather of the reigning Grand Mogul, and accordingly inserts it ; but it may here be omitted, as well as his description of combats of wild beasts among themselves, or with men, in the presence of the Mogul and his court, and his description of the popular festivals and various other matters known well enough already to us. We may, however, terminate the account of Mandelslo's visit to Agra with a notice of the disagreeable adventure alluded to above, which we shall do in his own words :—

“It was my intention to remain yet for some time longer in Agra, but an affair happened to me, which made me change my resolution, and obliged me to leave a place where I believed my life to be in danger, because one day, whilst I was amusing myself in speaking with the Persian valet who had left me at Surat, I perceived coming towards me, a good looking Hindustani, and as far as I could judge, also of respectable position ; he asked me first where I had come from, and what affairs I might have in these parts. I replied, that I was a European coming from Germany, attracted only by the curiosity of seeing the courts of the most powerful monarch of the East. He told me that he believed he had seen me at Ispahan, and that I was undoubtedly the man who had killed his relative in the brawl which arose there among the Indians and the Germans. I was confused by this assertion, but nevertheless protested that I had never been in Persia, and that I had arrived by sea from England at Surat, which account [or rather subterfuge] the two English merchants who accompanied me likewise confirmed. But the man who served me most usefully on this occasion, was the Persian valet, who swore by Muhammad and by Hussain that my statement was true. Hereon the Hindustani withdrew, but showed very well that he had not been convinced by what we had told him ; and I could not trust a man who required only the opportunity, and not the will, to avenge the death of his relative, with which my own conscience upbraided me.”

Accordingly our traveller left Agra, as soon as possible, for Lahore in the company of a Dutch merchant, and derived the greatest satisfaction from the journey, the whole distance of seventy leagues between the two towns consisting of one straight avenue flanked on both sides with date, palm, and other fruit trees, affording a continuous and very pleasant protection from the sun. As there were plenty of monkeys, peacocks, parrots, and other birds on the road, our traveller could not resist the temptation of shooting now and then, but the Banians who were in the caravan greatly disapproved of this and reproached Mandelslo with cruelty for depriving these animals of life which he could not give them, and God had bestowed upon them for His own glory only. Whenever they saw him put his hand on a pistol, they were either displeased that he violated the injunctions of their religion in their presence, or requested him to give them the satisfaction of not killing these poor animals; but after he had made them understand that there is nothing which he would not do to please them, they changed their behaviour, and manifested the greatest kindness towards him. He found the environs of Lahore very fertile, and the town pleasant, and the inhabitants, being all Muhammadans, there were plenty of mosques and baths; one of the latter he visited, and the operation performed on his body by an attendant after coming out of the water, as he describes it, was the same as still in use in Turkey, Egypt and some parts of India.

Having received letters from Agra, in which he was pressed to return to Surat, because the English president was getting ready to sail to England, he joined some Hindustani merchants who were returning to Ahmedabad. When Mandelslo arrived in the last named town, the director of the English commerce there told him that he had orders from the president to collect as large a caravan as he could, and to come therewith as soon as possible to Surat. He also received a letter from the English president with the information that, being obliged to resign his charge after a few days into the hands of a successor whom his superiors had appointed, the ceremony would be followed by a grand banquet, at which Mandelslo must not fail to be present. Accordingly he started with a caravan of a hundred wagons, but went in advance of it with the director of the English commerce at Ahmedabad and his deputy, both of whom likewise desired to be present at the resignation of his appointment by the president of the English commerce in Surat. This travelling company consisted only of four gentlemen, with as many carts, two horses, and twenty peons or soldiers for their escort; and orders were left with the caravan to follow them with all possible speed. The journey was pleasant enough on the first day. The travellers crossed the river Wasset

and spent the night at Saselpoor, where Mr. Pansfeld, the English factor of Baroda joined, and entertained them magnificently at his residence, which they left, and proceeded on their journey, lodging the next night in a big garden, and again continuing the journey on the following day, after which a disagreeable adventure was encountered by them. In the evening they encamped near a large tank called Sambord [Samber], and, having been unable all that day to obtain fresh water, they endeavoured to draw some from this tank ; but, as the peasants feared the travellers might consume all the water of it, because at the same time also a Dutch caravan of two hundred carts happened to arrive, they would not allow them to approach the water. Accordingly the travellers, considering that necessity knows no law, sent fifteen peons to draw water in spite of the opposition offered by the peasants. When, however, they arrived they found the tank guarded by thirty well armed men, resolved to defend it and to hinder the strangers from taking any water. When the peons drew their swords, with the intention of attacking the peasants, the latter retreated, but whilst the drawing of water was being commenced, they fired arrows and matchlocks, wounding five peons, whereon these revenged themselves by killing three peasants, whose corpses their companions then carried away to the village.

This adventure having terminated, a merchant of the Dutch caravan arrived whilst our travellers were at supper, and informed them that two hundred Rajputs had been seen on their road, who had committed several robberies and had on the preceding day killed six men at a distance of one league from the village near which they were now encamped. This caravan of the Dutch departed at midnight, and was immediately followed by that of our travellers ; they had, however, scarcely overtaken it, when they discovered one of those Halálkhors who usually precede caravans and troops, serving as trumpeters blowing an instrument of this kind which has a long copper-tube. As soon as this man perceived the travellers, he again withdrew to the forest, which made them conclude that the robbers would not fail to attack them soon ; and, in fact, they beheld nearly at the same time a great number of Rajputs issuing from the woods, armed with lances, shields, bows and arrows, but no firearms, and our travellers had leisure to load theirs, which consisted of four muskets and three pairs of pistols. The English merchant and Mandelslo mounted their horses, and gave the muskets in charge of the men who were in the carts, with express orders not to fire except at close quarters. Their arms were loaded with cartridges and the Rajputs marched so closely together, that after they had fired

but once, they saw three of them fall down to the ground dead. The Rajputs shot a few arrows, wounding a bullock and two peons; one, however, struck the pommel of Mandelslo's saddle, and another fell upon the English merchant's turban. As soon as the people of the Dutch caravan heard the firing, they detached ten of their peons, but our travellers ran great risk of their lives before they were able to reach them; for, Mandelslo, being attacked on all sides, received two lance-thrusts in his buffalo-leather collar, which saved his life that day. Two Rajputs, having taken hold of the bridle of his horse, after killing two of his peons, were about to lead him away prisoner, when he disabled one of them by a pistol-shot in the shoulder, and the English merchant, coming to succour him, performed miracles of bravery. Meanwhile the peons of the Dutch caravan approached, and the caravan itself having arrived nearly at the same time, the Rajputs withdrew to the woods, leaving six of their number dead on the spot, and taking away several of their wounded. Of the peons two were killed and eight wounded, and also the English merchant, but slightly. Now, they continued their march with the caravan in very good order, being apprehensive of another attack from the Rajputs, which, however, did not take place: the next place they reached was Broach, and lastly, they arrived on the 26th December at Surat. There Mandelslo found more than fifty English merchants, whom the president had convoked from all the other offices to render an account of their administration, and to be present at the resignation of his appointment. This assembly was composed of Mr. Methwold the president, Mr. Fremling, who was to succeed him in his appointment, of five consuls from various parts of India, of three clergymen, two physicians, and twenty-five merchants. This would make only thirty-seven members, and the rest more than thirteen in number, did perhaps not belong to the assembly, as they occupied inferior positions.

As soon as the assembly had met, the president delivered a fine speech, expressing his gratitude for the fidelity and affection, of which all had given him proofs during his government, as well as for the honour and respect they had entertained for the East India Company as represented in his own person, requesting them to entertain the same for Mr. Fremling, his second, to whom he had been ordered to surrender his appointment, and exhorting them all to co-operate in everything they thought would redound to the profit and to the honour of the Company. After he had terminated this harangue, he gave to Mr. Fremling the letters patent of the King of England by

which he was appointed to his place, the functions of which he would have to discharge ; concluding with a little compliment to Mr. Fremling on the same subject.

This speech having terminated all adjourned to the garden outside the town, where Mr. Methwold had a magnificent banquet prepared of everything good and rare the country could furnish : accompanied by English music performed on a violin, by a Muhammadan and a Banian woman ; and dancing girls of the country having arrived, served to amuse the guests. Immediately afterwards orders were issued that the ships which had taken in their cargoes, should lay in the provisions necessary for their voyage to England ; accordingly Mandelslo prepared for his departure.

On the 28th December a new governor sent by the Grand Mogul arrived in Surat, and Mr. Fremling the new president of the English commerce, accompanied by five of the principal English merchants going half a league from the town to meet him, Mandelslo likewise went with them. The cortège of the Governor was headed by several peons, then came some palaukeens and after them an elephant mounted by an officer bearing a standard of red taffetas. After the elephant marched more than a hundred peons, followed by twenty soldiers, each of whom carried a small banner, in the form of a scarf of various colours. These immediately preceded the Governor who rode a beautiful Persian horse and was accompanied by several men of quality, as well as a great deal of cavalry. By his side walked a footman with a bouquet of feathers to serve as a fan and umbrella, to shield him from the sun, and last of all, came a gilded palankeen. The name of this new Governor was Mirza Mahmūd, and the new president of the English commerce having already before been acquainted with him, they saluted each other cordially.

Immediately after the instalment of the new president of the English commerce, all the other English officials and merchants returned one after the other to their usual places of residence, and the ships were got ready for the voyage. Their names were *Marie* and *Le Cygne*, but two other ships had also orders to sail with them, one of which being too old to make the voyage as far as England, having been condemned to be sold at Goa—where the president Methwold who had just resigned his appointment, and had to return to England, was to touch in passing—whilst the other was to receive in the last named port fifty thousand Reals, which the Portuguese had to pay to the English in execution of the treaty of peace they had concluded with each other, and which were to be employed in India under the

orders of the president of English trade at Surat. The *Cygne* had order to sail two days before the *Marie* in which Mandelslo was to embark, and to wait for her at the Cape of Good Hope.

Before leaving Surat, our traveller makes a very long digression on the religion, history, customs, &c., of the people of Guzerat, and gives descriptions of some towns of it. He gives also the tenets of various sects and those of the Shrivaks, spelt by him *ceurawath*, which are rather curious; and if their austerities of the Lent season be actually true, many of them could beat the now famous American Dr. Tanner, about whom we have heard so much, in fasting, for Mandelslo says:—"Their greatest devotions take place in the month of August, when they mortify themselves by austere abstinence, which would elsewhere be considered miraculous, as it is certain that some of them live fifteen days or three weeks, and some even a whole month or six weeks upon water alone, without partaking of any other kind of food, but into the water they scrape a certain bitter wood which must be very nourishing." It may be mentioned in this place, that in the Bombay presidency full credit is given to the above assertion, and that even at present there are many Shrivaks who may be said to be great adepts in emaciating their bodies by starvation, for the sake of religious merit.

Our traveller was probably misinformed on the subject of proselytism among Banians, which, even if it had been usual, would scarcely have been tolerated under a Musalman government; and the swallowing of cow-dung as a penance is now restricted only to a small pill composed of the five products of the cow, and therefore named *pantchagavia*, which a Hindu must swallow, no matter to what caste he belongs, the rules of which he has broken, when he submits to the penitential ceremonies called *pushtchatap*; we may nevertheless quote his statement:—"The Banians oblige their proselytes, that is so say, the Muhammadans, who embrace their religion, to live in an extraordinary manner; for, in order to renovate the whole body, which is according to their opinion polluted by the flesh which they had eaten, they compel them during six months to mix among their victuals a pound of cow-dung; because there being according to their opinion, something divine in this animal, nothing can purify the body more than this kind of food, which they gradually diminish for their proselytes after the expiration of the first three months from their conversion. Those of themselves are compelled to submit to the same regime, who have been prisoners of Muhammadans or Christians, or, who living usually among them, had been persuaded to eat flesh, or to drink wine; such persons are not again received into their communion, unless they have purified themselves in the same manner."

In Mandelslo's time the Parsees had not yet risen to the position they at present occupy in towns chiefly as traders and great merchants ; then most of them lived on the coast of Guzerat, cultivating tobacco, drawing toddy from the palm-trees, and manufacturing *arack* ; some of them, however, engaged also in trade. He is mistaken in asserting that their law prohibits them from eating whatever has had life, as also in several other points which we may pass over, and content ourselves with quoting his final remarks on the Parsees :—" Their stature is not of the highest, but their complexion is more fair than that of the other Hindustanis, and their females are incomparably more fair and more beautiful than those of the country, or Muhammadan women. The men wear large beards, cut round according to the fashion prevalent in France fifty years ago, some have their hair cut, whilst others allow it to grow ; the former, however, retain on the top of their heads a curl or bunch of hair of the thickness of the thumb. They are the most avaricious people in the world, straining all their energies to cheat in trade, although otherwise they entertain aversion to stealing."

As the opium question is now again being hotly discussed in England, where a society has been formed to memorialise Government for suppressing its exportation from India to China, we may here adduce the words of Mandelslo on this subject :—" The *amphion*, *offion*, or *opium*, consumed in Europe comes from Aden or Cairo, but that sold in India comes from the province of Gwalior in Hindustan, and is nothing but the juice drawn from the poppy, when it begins to ripen. All orientals are madly fond of opium to such a degree, that the young, who are not allowed to use any, and the poor who have no means to purchase it, boil the poppy itself and drink its soup, so that just as the poppy is called *Pust*, those who use this soup instead of the juice of opium, are called *Pusty*. The Persians pretend that the first use of it must be attributed to them, and that all the other nations desired to imitate their great lords, who first took it to bring on sleep. They daily consume a pill of the size of a pea, not so much as a soporific, as to produce the effect of wine, which imparts courage and boldness to those who would otherwise possess none. The *casses* [*kossids*] corrupted from the Arabic *Qassed* *قاسد* or messengers who run through the country, eat some to strengthen themselves, but the Indians chiefly use it for giving more pleasure to their wives. This is certainly a very pernicious drug, and even a lethal poison, unless its use is begun gradually ; and after the habit of consuming it has taken root, it must be persisted in, or else death is unavoidable. It so

affects the brains of those who continually take it, that they lose the use of their reason, and are besotted, unless they stimulate them by the same remedy."

As Mandelslo has above alluded to the *Pust* beverage, we here give Bernier's description of it from page 241 of the English translations published in 1671 in London:—"This *Pouet* is nothing else but poppy expressed, and infused at night in water. And 'tis that portion which those that are kept at *Goualeer* are commonly made to drink; I mean those Princes whose heads they think not fit to cut off: This is the first thing that is brought to them in the morning, and they have nothing given them to eat, till they have drunk a great cup full of it; they would rather let them starve. This emaciates them exceedingly, and maketh them die insensibly, they loosing little by little their strength and understanding, and growing torpid and senseless. And by this very means 'tis said that *Sepe-Chekoah* and the grandchild of *Morad-Bakche* and *Soliman-Chekouh* were dispatch't."

Mr. Methwold, who had just resigned the position of president of the English commerce in India, having made all the preparations for his departure to Europe, went on the 1st January 1639 to take leave of the Governor of Surat, who received him with much politeness and presented him with a brocade-coat, the collar of which consisted of too sable-skins, and which he had on his own body, as well as with several trinkets, requesting him to keep them as a remembrance. Then the late president proceeded with Mandelslo on board the *Marie* which set sail on the 5th January before day break, and arrived about evening in sight of Damau, the Governor of which place sent a barrel of wine with some other refreshments, in spite of the siege he was subject to from the King of the Deccan, which was, however, but little successful, because the port not being blockaded, the Indians could not help witnessing the arrival of assistance at any hour of the day. As the voyage progresses, our traveller describes various localities, but gives nothing beyond the following scanty allusion to the present metropolis of Western India, which was at that time a very insignificant place:—"On the 9th January we passed with a good wind blowing from the north, the islands of *Bandera* [Bandora] and *Bombay*, which extend along the coast from *Baçaim* [Bassein] as far as above *Rasiapur*. That of *Bombay* is large enough, and possesses a very good harbour towards the mainland." On the other hand, Mandelslo is very profuse in his description of *Goa* where the *Marie* cast anchor on the 11th January, and he went on shore with the English president. It is curious, that although both were Protestants, they had so much intercourse with the Jesuits and other priests, who invited them to their convents

and feasted them sumptuously. The ten days Mandelslo spent at Goa were all occupied by nothing but mutual visits and dinners.

The ship *Marie* saluted the Castle on her arrival with twenty-five guns, the other with nine, and the third with five, which were reciprocated. Immediately afterwards a Portuguese Captain arrived, who welcomed the English president on the part of the Viceroy of Goa ; nearly at the same time also the General of the galleons arrived in a gilded gondola with scarlet carpets, and was received with a salute from twenty pieces of artillery. After the first compliments the General requested the English president to enter his gondola with him, as he desired to oblige him with refreshments in his galleon, but the president excused himself, requesting permission to go first to the town, and promising after his return to do himself the honor to pay him a visit on board the galleon.

These gallions were the only protection of the town against twelve Dutch ships, which pretended to blockade it on the sea side. These ships had just retreated a little on this occasion to recover themselves from a battle in which two of them were sunk by the fire-vessels which the Portuguese had driven against them. The ships of the Dutch, however, returned again the next day and cast anchor in the roadstead to hinder vessels from coming out, nevertheless such as drew only little water and could hug the coast closely, did not cease to provide the town with all kinds of provisions and goods to such a degree, that Mandelslo witnessed in a single day the arrival of more than three hundred barges loaded with pepper, ginger, cardamoms, sugar, rice, fruits and confectionery.

The English president, the flourishes of whose trumpets were resounding as he ascended the river, went straight to the house of the *Fiador de la fazenda* [Ouvidor da fazenda], who was something like an administrator of finances, because he had chiefly to deal with him on the affairs for which he had been obliged to touch at Goa. This officer received the president in a very friendly manner, and after leaving him, he was carried in a palanken to the residence assigned to him, whence he sent a person to ask an audience from the Viceroy, which having immediately been granted, the president again entered the barge to go there. On the river-bank the English president was received by several *Fidalgos*, or nobles of the Viceroy's suite, who took the party to the audience. The guards who were in uniform had taken up their arms and stood in two lines through which the party passed from the anti-chamber into a richly furnished hall, containing the portraits of many European Princes. The Viceroy was dressed in black, as well as his whole court, and seated on a chair when the president entered ; then he

rose and remained standing till the latter had taken his seat. All the rest of the company stood in front of the Viceroy, except a few gentlemen who took charge of Mandelslo, and of some Englishmen leading them to a window of the hall to converse with them, whilst the Viceroy and the president conferred with each other upon the articles in question.

After the president had ended speaking about his business, he took leave of the Viceroy, who conducted him to the door of the hall, where he remained standing uncovered till the party had left the place. The same *Fidalgos* who had introduced the foreigners, now led them again back to the river, and in passing pointed out to them twelve superbly caparisoned horses expressly brought out to let them see something of the magnificence of the Viceroy.

They had scarcely finished their dinner after their return, when they found themselves overwhelmed with visits. Most of the Portuguese nobles had come to salute the president, and there was not a convent of monks which had not sent deputies to compliment him. The first dinner was given them on the 15th January by the Governor of the town of Bassein, who had now been appointed to the same position at Mozambique, and it was so good, that Mandelslo avers he had never eaten a better repast; he remarks, however, that Portuguese ladies are not less retired than those of the Moscovites and Persians; in fact, it appears, that our party never came in contact with any during their whole stay at Goa; on the present occasion, however, their gallant host, who knew that the English would be well pleased to see women, and that he would infinitely oblige them by affording them that pleasure, had them served by four beautiful girls from Malacca, whilst he himself was specially waited upon by two pages and a eunuch. These girls presented to them food and drink, and although their host took himself no wine, he desired the English to live according to their own fashion, and to drink as usual. After dinner some more wine was taken in another apartment where the host made to the English president several little presents when he departed.

Having been invited to a house of the Jesuit Fathers our party went there on the 16th January and saw one hundred and fifty fathers with at least as many students. The house had four storeys and commanded the handsomest prospect in the world towards the sea as well as towards the land. In the refectory, on the ground floor, there were tables along the walls with the cloth already laid, together with the plates, cups, &c., on which bread and fruit had been served out. In the centre

of this hall there was a small square table, covered and served like the others, but destined for those who were under penance for having sinned against the discipline of the order. The guests were then led up into the third-storey into another hall, not quite as large as the refectory below, but very richly furnished, and in all respects representing the apartment of a very powerful house in its tapestry as well as in its other furniture. The table there laid out for the guests was very large and occupied the centre of the hall ; it was covered with a beautiful tablecloth, loaded with fruit, bread, and porcelain vessels, more esteemed by persons of quality in these parts than silver itself.

The Father Provincial after having assigned the first place to the English president, sat down by his side, and then pointed out seats to the rest of the company ; placing, however, two Jesuits with them to amuse them, and making the others stand behind to serve them. The food was brought in small porcelain vessels, each guest receiving his own ; this took place with several courses of flesh and fish, all perfectly well prepared. The dessert corresponded very well with the rest of the banquet, and consisted of tarts, tartlets, cakes, eggs admirably perfumed according to the Portuguese fashion, sweetmeats, and dry as well as liquid confectionery. After dinner the guests were conducted into various apartments and left in them to take the customary rest during the greatest heat of the day. In each apartment were three beds, and in the centre a large porcelain vase full of fresh water. After that, the guests were taken to a hall in which the amusement of a ballet was given to them, danced by the children of some Indians whom the Jesuits had baptised and instructed in the Roman Catholic religion. The Archbishop of Goa, who is the Primate of all the Portuguese possessions in India, was present in person, to take part in the entertainment, as well as to converse with the English president by order of the Viceroy. After the ballet a musical entertainment took place, and when the guests departed, their hosts told them that they give from time to time performances of this kind, as much to attract the Pagans and Muhammadans to the Christian religion as to amuse and divert the children after their studies.

On the 18th January the English president's party were invited by the Jesuits of the College, named *Bom Jesus*, to dine with them. They were received at the entrance by some of the oldest fathers who pointed out to them in several halls the portraits of princes and persons of quality who had become members of their order as well as of those of their society, who had suffered martyrdom for the Christian religion, among whom were those

of the gun-powder-plot, of which, however, the fathers refrained to give a description, but confined themselves to a long recital of the cruelties inflicted upon members of their society in Japan. After having been shown everything that was beautiful in the College, the guests were led into the church, one of the most beautiful possessed by the Jesuits in the whole of Asia. First they inspected the great altar, but although it was one of the handsomest Mandelslo had ever seen, he states that it could not be compared in wealth with another smaller one erected in honour of St. Francis Xavier, who was called the Apostle of India. They were shown his wooden statue painted in natural colors, and were told that his body existed in this church in the same condition in which it was at his death. The Jesuits also stated that his corpse had been found in the Island of Ceylon, and had been discovered by its very pleasant odour which guided those who found it, from a distance of several leagues in the sea, to the spot where it had been concealed. Our traveller naturally criticises this account, but we need not notice the digression in which he discusses it. When the party had come out from the church they were taken to the refectory which had tables along the walls like that in the professed house of the Jesuits, affording room for two hundred diners; nevertheless, only four of the chiefs dined with their guests, whilst the others remained standing in their rear to serve them. Here they were entertained as well as in the professed house, but Mandelslo confesses that the best Canary wine he ever drank was given him in this place: he also pays the Jesuits a compliment by assuring us that among all their moral virtues, there is none which they cultivate with more care than sobriety, so that drunkenness may be said to be the vice to which they are the least addicted; they nevertheless caused themselves to be very frequently served with wine to induce their guests to drink and practically to show that they really believed what they had said about the goodness of their wine. After dinner they were taken up to the steeple of the church, whence they discovered the whole town, the sea, the river, and the surrounding country as far as the mountains, much better than they were able to discern from the fourth storey of the professed house of the Jesuits.

When they took leave of their hosts they promised them to send next morning two of their fathers, who would show them the great hospital of which the Jesuits had the direction. This was a very large edifice, with numerous rooms, halls, and verandas affording space for more than a thousand patients, who were very well taken care of. Each bed had its own number displayed on those occupied, but turned down on those which were

empty. The handsomest apartments in the hospital were the kitchens and the pharmacy, both being provided with everything necessary for the comfort of the sick. The persons in charge of the sick took care that no patient should witness the death-scene of any of his companions, and as soon as this approached, the dying person was conveyed to a separate room, where he was attended to by a priest till he expired.

As soon as the English president had terminated his business with the Viceroy who had paid him nine thousand pounds sterling in cash, and promised to pay the rest of the money in goods to the English merchants whom he had for this purpose brought from Surat, he went to return the civilities shown him and took leave everywhere. The Viceroy, the General of the galleons, and all the principal nobles of the court, made handsome presents to the English president. The Viceroy sent him several bales of cinnamon, several hogsheads of Spanish wine, some sheep, baskets of fruit, and other refreshments. The Jesuits sent him brandy, and a great quantity of dry as well as liquid confectionery, with the request to take as passengers some Jesuits to England, and among them one who had lived in China long enough to acquire a very perfect knowledge of the country. The gift most highly prized by the president was a bottle of oil drawn from the cinnamon flower, and a candle made of the oil taken from the cinnamon itself which served as a perfume-stick for burning.

The ship sailed from Goa on the 22nd January, firing salutes which were duly returned, and the English president sent the two ships with the money he had received at Goa, back to Surat. On the 24th January the *Marie* entered the roadstead of the town of Cananore where three English vessels, the *Dragon*, the *Catherine* and the *Semeur*, all commanded by Captain Weddel, happened to be. He had been present at the taking of Ormuz from the King of Persia by the Portuguese, but had entered the service of a new Company since formed in England for the trade of India. Although the ship left Cananore on the 26th, Mandelslo found time to gather a little information about the Nairs and Polias, namely, the aristocratic pure, and the plebeian impure classes. On the 27th January eighteen Malabari vessels came in sight, sailing straight towards the *Marie* whose crew at once prepared to receive the pirates, but they were not bold enough to come within range of her guns while it was daylight. As soon, however, as the moon began to rise above the horizon, immediately after midnight, they attacked the English ship on both sides, although with little effect, because the *Marie* received them so well, that her first broad-

side sank two of their vessels and disabled three or four more, which retired behind the others. The English, moreover, also used their musketry so well against those who had approached the ship, that they gave up their intention to board her. On the 29th January the Island of Ceylon was discovered, and the ship remained in sight of it becalmed fully three weeks; our traveller now amused himself in compiling a lengthy account not only of this island, but of all the other countries situated to the east of it, even as far as China and Japan, as we have already mentioned at the beginning of this article.

THEVENOT.

After having seen and described Turkey, Monsieur de Thevenot visited India, an account of which he gives in his fifth and last volume. The third edition of his work was printed at Amsterdam in 1727, more than seventy years after he had travelled in India; for, he sailed from Bosrah on the 6th November 1665 and arrived at Surat on the 10th January 1666, so that his voyage lasted more than two months. Like his predecessor Mandelslo, he was examined at the custom-house, but manifests greater displeasure at the operation, for he says:—"This search was made, but with such severity, and in so mortifying a manner, that although I had expected it, and was prepared for it, I had need of all my patience to allow the searchers to do all they liked, although I had only my clothes on my body, and it is scarcely credible what precautions these people take not to be cheated."

. This traveller first proceeded to pay a visit to Ahmedabad the capital of the province of Guzerat, *via* Broach, and appears not to have come in contact with any Europeans except Dutchmen, some of whom treated him very kindly at Ahmedabad, and made him leave the caravanserai where he had alighted, to lodge with them after he had given them letters from their Commander at Surat. He describes a royal palace, the great mosque, gardens, sepulchres, tanks, wells, and an hospital for birds. He appears not to have made acquaintance with the English, and only says that their counting house is in the centre of the town, and that their magazines are usually full of cloth from Lahore and Dehli with which they carry on a great trade. The goods most traded in at Ahmedabad were satins, velvet, and taffetas, with carpet, the ground of which was of gold, silk or wool. Much cotton-cloth was also sold there, but it came from Lahore and Dehli. A great deal of indigo was exported as well as prepared and unprepared ginger, sugar, cummin, lac, mirbolams, tamarind, opium, saltpetre and honey. The chief commerce of the Dutch in Ahmedabad consisted of *techits*, or stamped cloths, but less fine than those of Masulipatam and St. Thomé.

From Ahmedabad our traveller made a trip to Cambay, which is only two short days distant from it, and thanking his Dutch hosts for their civilities, he started on the 16th February. He found Cambay so infested with monkeys, that they sometimes appeared to cover the roofs of the houses, from which they threw anything they could find upon passers by, and wounded them. The castle in which the Governor dwelt was large, but had nothing handsome about it: the traveller paid visits also to other places worth seeing, and then returned to Surat, which he describes in several chapters.

At that time a French capuchin who had great influence with the Governor of Surat enjoyed sometimes opportunities of serving his nation, one of which occurred when Thevenot was there. The Governor was making inquiries about the French company, but of Europeans whose interest it was that it should not be received at Surat; accordingly he intended to solicit the court of Dehli to exclude it; but Father Ambroise, the superior of the capuchins, who had been apprised of this intention, waited upon him to undeceive him, and to tell him not to believe the enemies of this company, who had conspired to ruin it if possible. He respected this father for his probity, and did not reject his advice, but only entreated him to reveal the truth without dissimulation, and to tell him whether the French, who intended to establish themselves at Surat, were not pirates, as had been rumoured about the whole country and asserted by several Europeans. After the Governor had been satisfied by the reply of Father Ambroise, he requested him to write down in Persian all he had told him, and as soon as this was done, he sent the document to the Court. When the Grand Mogul had it read out in the Divan, he was so well pleased, and also his officers, that all desired the arrival of the French vessels. In fact, this Governor did a thousand acts of courtesy to Sieur de la Boullaye and to Beber the envoys of the company, assuring them that he would do them all the services he could upon the testimony of Father Ambroise. The English president who was an old friend of this father, also showed them every possible honour, after sending them his carriage and some of his people to receive them, telling the father that everything in his possession would be at their disposal.

The marriage ceremony of the Governor's daughter at Surat which Thevenot describes, is pretty nearly the same as we at present see in wedding processions of wealthy Muhammadans. It is worth while to quote what he says about the tombs of Europeans:—
“The English and the Dutch affect to adorn their sepulchres with brick pyramids, plastered with lime, and while I was there, one was being built for the Commander of the Dutch, which was to have cost eight thousand francs. There is a tomb of a certain drunkard, who had been exiled to India by the States

General, and was said to have been a relative of the Prince of Orange. A monument had been raised to him, as for other men of mark, but to make it known that he drank well, a great stone-cup was placed on the top of his pyramid, and one below at each corner of the tomb, with the figure of a sugar-loaf; and when the Dutch go to amuse themselves near this sepulchre, they prepare a hundred stews in these cups, and use other smaller ones to take out what they have prepared in the large ones, in order to eat and to drink." The tombs of Muhammadaus, and the burning ghauts of Hindus are too well known to be described. Tanks and large reservoirs being very rare in Europe, but plentiful in this country, attracted the attention of Pietro della Valle, Mandelslo and Thevenot, all of whom greatly admired them and described them at length.

Thevenot indulges in a little historical digression about Sivaji the famous Maratha freebooter, who plundered Surat two years before his visit to that place, namely, in 1664, and we shall confine ourselves to this episode:—Being aware that Surat contained much wealth, he resolved to plunder it. In order, however, that nobody might get wind of his design, he divided the troops he had, into two camps, establishing one of them at Chaul and the other in the vicinity of Bassien with orders, however, to his officers, not to commit depredations, but to pay for everything they required. Then he assumed the garb of a fakir and diligently examined all the roads leading to Surat, which town he likewise entered and reconnoitred at leisure.

When he returned to his principal camp, he ordered four thousand of his troops to follow him without noise, and the others to remain encamped, but to make during his absence as much noise as if all his troops were there, so that no suspicion of his enterprise might be entertained, and the belief of his being present in the camp prevail. Everything was executed as he had ordered, and the march remained secret enough, although it was very hasty, in order to surprise Surat. Sivaji encamped near the gate of Burhampur, and to mislead the Governor of Surat, who had sent some persons to him, he asked the Governor to procure him guides for continuing the march, but the Governor, who suspected danger, returned no answer, withdrew with the most costly articles he possessed to the fort, and sent messengers in all directions for aid. Most of the inhabitants abandoned their houses and retired to the fields, whereon the troops of Sivaji entered the town, plundered it during four days, and burnt several houses. Only the quarters of the English and of the Dutch escaped pillage by the vigorous resistance they offered to the freebooters. Sivaji also abstained from attacking the castle, although he knew that it contained the

most precious articles, and above all, a great deal of ready money. He feared that such an attack would take too much time, and that the help which might arrive, would cause him to loose the booty he had made in the town. Moreover, as means of defence were at hand in the castle, he could not have obtained possession of it as easily as of the town. Accordingly he determined to retreat with all the wealth he had amassed. It was believed at Surat, that Sivaji had carried off jewelry, gold and silver, to the amount of more than thirty millions, and in the house of one Banian he found seventy-two pounds of threaded pearls, without counting great quantity of others which had not yet been pierced.

After all, however, says Thevenot, it would be a matter of astonishment that so populous a town should have allowed itself to be pillaged by a handful of men, if it were not known that most of the Indians are poltroons. They had scarcely beheld Sivaji approach with his horde than they all took to their heels ; some fled to the fields, to retire thence to Broach, and others to the castle, where the Governor of the town had been the first to take refuge. The Europeans alone remained in their own quarters and saved their property, whilst all the rest of the town was plundered, except the house of the capuchins. When the freebooters had reached their convent they passed beyond it according to the orders of their chief, because on the evening of the first day Father Ambroise the superior of the capuchins, being touched with compassion for the poor Christians living in Surat, waited upon Sivaji to speak in their favour, and to request him to abstain at least from injuring their persons. Sivaji entertained respect for him, took him under his protection, and granted him what he asked for the Christians. This father appears to have enjoyed more authority in worldly matters than the character of his spiritual office might entitle him to claim. Few would object to his assuming the duty of quelling disputes that arose between Christians, and more particularly, among Roman Catholics, which he had undertaken. He must have been a zealous man else he would never have taken it upon himself to imprison Christians, which he did on the plea that they were leading scandalous lives, or to expel them from the city ; but he had been so carefully ingratiating himself with the Kotwal and the Governor, that they gave him persons whenever he required them to enforce his decrees.

A description of Agra with its fort and the celebrated Taj Mahal is given by Thevenot. Here is what he says at page 105 *infra* :—
“Some assert that there are twenty-five Christian families in Agra, but all do not agree on this point. It is only certain that there are but few Gentiles and Parsees in comparison to the Muham-madans who live there, and the latter surpass all the other sects in

power, as they do in numbers. The Dutch keep up an establishment in the town, but the English have ceased to maintain theirs, because it was unprofitable."

We observe that in speaking of the province of Dehli, Thevenot also describes the famous avenue of trees to which we have already alluded, but here also the dangers of it are mentioned, and the robbers described can be no others than the now happily almost extinct *Thugs* as will be seen from what follows:—"The province of Dehli is contiguous to that of Agra towards the north, and the present Grand Mogul Aurungzebe keeps his court at the capital, which is about forty-five leagues distant from Agra. It is in Hindustan called [Shah] Jehanabad, but otherwise Dehli. The route which leads from the one of these towns to the other is very pleasant. It is the famous avenue, one hundred and fifty leagues in length, planted with trees by King Jehángír, and leading not only from Agra to Dehli but even as far as Lahore. Every half league is there marked by a turret, and sixty-nine or seventy of them occur between the two capitals: there are even small caravan-serais at the end of each day's stage. Nothing remarkable can be said about these serais, except the one called Chekiserai, at a distance of six leagues from Agra. In this place, there is an old idol-temple, which may be reckoned among the beautiful and great pagodas of India. It was more frequented formerly on account of the convenience for ablutions when the Jumna laved its walls, but although the river has receded nearly half a mile from the town, many Indians still frequent it; and food is still brought for monkeys in the hospital which has been built for them."

"Although the road, of which I have spoken, is beautiful, many discomforts are connected with it. Tigers, lions, and panthers infest it, even thieves are encountered, and travellers on this road must make it a rule not to allow anybody to approach them. The thieves of this country are the most dexterous in the world; they carry a rope with a noose which they throw so cleverly on the neck of a man when he comes near enough, that they never miss him; and they strangle him in a moment. They make also use of a trick to deceive travellers; they send upon the road a beautiful woman with dishevelled hair, pretending to lament over some misfortune that has befallen her; as she walks by the side of the traveller he falls easily into conversation with her, and being captivated by her beauty, he offers her his assistance, which she accepts; but he has no sooner allowed her to mount his horse behind him, when she throws her rope over him and strangles him, or at least, makes him faint, till the robbers, who are concealed, come to her aid and

finish what she has begun. There are, moreover, men in these parts who throw the rope so dexterously, that they are as successful from a great as from a small distance, so that when a bullock or other animal strays from the caravan, as sometimes happens, they do not fail to capture it by the neck."

The descriptions of Dehli, the province of Sind, Multan, Cabulistán, Kashmir, and of Lahore, may all be passed over as of not much interest to us, but we may mention that in describing the Royal Palace within the fort of the last named town, Thevenot states that on the walls there were numerous paintings representing the actions of the Grand Mogul in brilliant colours, and that over one door there was a crucifix, whilst over another, the picture of the Virgin might be seen, both of which pieces our traveller considers to have been placed there only by the hypocrisy of Jehángír, who pretended to be well disposed towards the Christian religion to flatter the Portuguese.

Our traveller had a bad opinion of Hindu fakirs, troops of whom assembled at Allahabad just as they do in our times, to celebrate festivals and to bathe at the confluence of the Ganges with the Jumna. He considers them to be no better than the gypsies of Europe, and says, that if these be honest fakirs, great scoundrels occur also among them, whom the Mogul authorities are not displeased to see killed when they commit crimes. He had met them also in rural districts, all naked, with banners and trumpets, asking alms with bows and arrows in their hands, not giving to travellers the option of bestowing alms upon them, or refusing to do so. Once our traveller happened to be in a caravan with which also fakirs wandered, who took it into their heads to hinder everybody from sleeping ; they never ceased to sing and to preach all night, and the people instead of enforcing silence with blows, as they ought to have done, politely requested them to remain quiet, whereon they only became more uproarious, redoubled their singing and shouting, whilst those who were unable to sing, laughed and mocked the rest of the caravan. These fakirs had been sent by their superior to a certain locality, to ask for two thousand rupees and a certain quantity of rice as well as ghee, with orders not to return unless after having fully executed their commission. Our traveller was, however, not biassed against the Hindu fakirs only, but states, that those of the Muhammadan persuasion are just as great vagabonds : for all that, however, both classes were equally held in honour by the superstitious and ignorant natives.

At that time the town of Dacca was the capital of Bengal, and being very narrow, extended nearly a league along the Ganges. most of the houses, however, were made only of bamboos plaster-

ed with mud; only those of the Dutch and of the English being solid, they having spared no costs to insure the safety of their wares. The Hollanders kept there galleys to sail for trading purposes down the Gulf of Bengal; and Augustinian monks had also a convent at Dacca. Our traveller was assured that the Grand Mogul usually drank only Ganges' water, considering it to be much lighter than any other; some persons, however, told him that it relaxes the bowels, and that for this reason Europeans who used it, always boiled it before doing so.

On his return journey to Surat, Thevenot passed through Burhampur, which was at that time still an important place and the capital of the province of Kandesh. Usually a prince of the blood was the governor of this place as well as of the rest of the province, and Aurungzebe had been one of them before he ascended the throne. Here, also, the Sieurs Boulaye and Beber, envoys of the French India Company, had a quarrel with the Banians to whom they had been recommended. When they arrived at Burhampur, these Banians come to meet them with basins full of confectionery and rupees in their hands. These gentlemen, not knowing the custom of the country, according to which presents are offered to esteemed foreigners, and thinking the twenty-five or thirty rupees presented to them implied that they were considered poor, became angry, insulted the Banians, and prepared to strike them, which nearly brought them into great trouble. Had they been well informed of the usages of the country, they would have accepted this present, and would afterwards have given something in return to the Banians; or if they did not wish to do so, they might have taken, and again returned the same present; or if they did not wish to accept it, they ought at least to have touched it with the tips of their fingers, and politely thanked them for their civility.

The castle from which the Grand Mogul, when at Burhampur, used to witness the combats of elephants in the river Tapti, is now in ruins, as well as the large mosque. In the middle of the river there is a rock of which Thevenot says:—"The elephant which this rock represents, died on the spot when fighting in the presence of Sháh Jehán the father of Aurungzebe, who desired to erect a monument to this animal, because he loved it; and the gentiles smear it with colour as they do their pagodas." There can be no doubt that this so-called elephant was not placed there, but is a natural rock in the river; at present, at least, it would require a considerable effort of imagination to make out the figure to be one, although it cannot be denied that human hands have shaped, smoothed, and painted it. The writer of these lines swam up to this elephant in 1860 when he passed through Burham-

par, but could find no way of mounting up to it, and immediately returned to the bank again ; the back of the elephant-being smooth, and rising almost perpendicularly from the water, cannot be mounted, and the same is the case with that which passes for the head, namely, the portion where the rock is somewhat more narrow.

Thevenot made another excursion after his return to Surat, embracing a good deal of the country. He paid a visit to Aurungabad, and devotes a whole chapter to the temples of Elora, the wonderful excavations and sculptures of which amazed him, but his movements were somewhat controlled by the other members of the company, eight Europeans in all, with fourteen peons, to take care of the goods of M. Bazon, a French merchant, who was taking them to Haiderabad in the Deccan, which our traveller always calls Baguagar, or tiger-town. Bombay he calls according to the Portuguese fashion Bombaim, but says nothing about it, except that it possesses a good harbour, and was ceded by the Portuguese to the English in 1662 when the King of England married the Infanta of Portugal.

Describing the various kinds of funerals, Thevenot alludes to *Suttee*, or immolation of widows by cremation, as follows :—“In other places, dead bodies are interred with their legs crossed, and their widows having been placed alive in the same hole up to their necks, are strangled by the Brahmans. *Suttee* was discouraged by the Muhammadan authorities, and many eutreaties, coupled with large presents, were required for obtaining permission to burn a widow, which difficulties sheltered many women from the infamy they would have incurred from their caste, if superior force had not compelled them to remain alive.”

Like Mandelslo also, Thevenot describes the Nairs and Polias [pariahs] of Cochin, describing the pride of the former, and the abject position of the latter, but as he contents himself with giving only a brief account of the famous duel between a Portuguese and a Nair, of which his predecessor has made a long story, we may here insert it :—“They yield precedence to none except to the Portuguese. To appease the quarrels which often arose on this point, the Portuguese General came to an agreement with the King of Cochin, that a duel between a Nair and a Portuguese should be fought, and the conquering party be entitled to precedence ; and as the Nair succumbed, the Portuguese precede them.” He also states, that when a Nair is approached near though by a Polia to feel his breath, he thinks himself polluted, and is obliged to kill him ; to avoid such a calamity, the Polias used at *Popo*, to inform the Nairs not to approach them.

A short account of the city of Goa is given by our traveller, but it is remarkable that neither he nor Mandelslo says a single word about the *Holy Inquisition*, although that institution must have been well known to both.

Haiderabad in the Deccan was a large town, but its houses were all so low and badly constructed, that they might have passed for huts only; the gardens, however, Thevenot considered to be beautiful. The palace formed an exception to the ordinary buildings, being an edifice three hundred and eighty paces long, all built of stone; it could not, however, be approached by the public, and posts were placed at some distance from it to mark the limits beyond which it was forbidden to pass. The kingdom of Golconda, of which Haiderabad was the capital, contained, according to Thevenot's opinion, also numerous Europeans, for he says:—

"There are also many Franks in this kingdom, but the majority are Portuguese, who have taken refuge there for some crimes they committed: Englishmen and Hollanders have lately begun to trade here, and make large profits. Three years ago they established an agency here and purchased for their companies quantities of *Tchits* and other cloths, which they cause to be retailed in other parts of India. They bring upon oxen from Masulipatam all kinds of goods which they know to be most in request at Bagangar, and in other towns of the kingdom, such as cloves, pepper, cinnamon, silver, copper, tin and lead, on which they gain much, and are said to make twenty-five per cent. profit. I have been assured that this gain amounts to ten or eleven hundred thousand *livres* [francs?] per annum. They are welcome in this country, because they make many presents, and a few days before my departure from Bagangar, their commandant had already begun to have trumpets and kettle-drums, and got himself preceded by a standard-bearer by order of his superiors."

The King usually held his court in the fortress of Golconda at a distance of two leagues from Haiderabad, where he had ceased to reside since the last eight years before the arrival of Thevenot, because Aurungzebe, whilst yet Governor of a province, surprised him there and made himself master of the town, the King being under the necessity to disguise himself and to escape to Golconda. The reigning king Abdullah Kutb Sháh was the son of a Brahman woman, the wife of his father the late king; and he inherited her intelligence. A Flemish surgeon in the service of the king showed our traveller the fort and the surroundings of Golconda, and our traveller mentions six mausoleums of former kings near the fort; the writer of these lines has also visited them, and was astonished to see the neglected build

ings with their marble sarcophagi, from which no one appears for years to have swept the dung of the bats which were nestling in the cupolas and falling upon them, nor kept the spaces around in order, which were gardens in the seventeenth century. How different the state of these abodes of the dead was when Thevenot was there, appears from the following :—"The tombs of the six kings have also those of their relatives, wives, and chief eunuchs near them. Each is in the centre of a garden, and ascends by five or six steps, built of stones resembling those at Thebes, leading into the verandah which surrounds the chapel containing the tomb, with arcades all round. The chapel [mausoleum] is square and from six to seven toises [36 to 42 feet English] high ; it has various architectural ornaments and is covered by a dome, which has a turret at each of its four angles. These places being considered holy, only few persons are allowed to enter them, and santous [Durwaishes] guard the entrances, so that I could not have been admitted had I not made myself known to be a foreigner. The pavement is covered with carpets, and the sarcophagus, with a satin pall, strewn with white flowers and hanging to the ground. At the height of one toise, there is an awning of the same stuff, and the whole is illuminated by lamps. The tombs of the sons and daughters of the king are on one side, whilst on the other, all the books of the king may be seen on folding stools ; most of them being Qoráns, and some others on the Muhammadan religion. The tombs of the other kings resemble this one, except, perhaps, that the chapels of some are square within and without, whilst that of the others is cruciform, some are dressed with the beautiful stone I have mentioned, whilst others are of black stone, and some walls of white stone have a shining varnish which makes them appear like fine marble, and there are some with panes of porcelain. The tomb of the king who died last, is the most beautiful of all, and its cupola is varnished green. The tombs of the princes, of their brothers, and of their other relatives are all of the same form, but easily distinguished, because only the tombs of kings have a crescent over them. The sepulchres of eunuchs are low and terraced, without any domes, but each has its garden. Each of these sepulchres is a refuge, and no matter what crime a man may have committed, he is safe as soon as he enters it. There the *gary* is struck [on a gong or disk of copper] just as in the castle, and everything regulated among the officials with the utmost punctuality."

We are informed that the diamond mines produced large revenues, all permitted to dig in those about Masulipatam, being obliged to pay to the King one pagoda per hour whilst engaged in digging, no matter whether they found any diamonds or not.

The principal mines were in the Carnatic towards Bejapoor, and six thousand men of the King constantly worked in them, who found every day nearly three pounds, and no one dug there, except the people of the King.

After sojourning for two months at Haiderabad, Thevenot, desiring to pay a visit to Masulipatam and to the Coromandel Coast, resolved to start in spite of the rains which had begun to fall in June, but as the inundations of rivers and bad roads would have made it impossible to use a carriage, he hired a horse for himself and two bullocks for his valet with the luggage. It being the rainy season our traveller found the country everywhere green and pleasant to the sight; but states, that the pagodas were so full of indecent figures and monsters, that they cannot be entered without feelings of horror. At Masulipatam he found a great commerce in *Tchits*, and besides those manufactured in the place, quantities were brought from Saint Thomé which were much finer and better coloured than those of all the rest of India. The roadstead being excellent, ships of every country may cast anchor, and our traveller had seen at Masulipatam natives of Cochin-China, Siam, Pegu, and several other oriental kingdoms.

Poliacate, situated to the north of Saint Thomé, was one of the best agencies possessed by the Dutch in the whole of India, on account of the cotton-cloths, for which they kept a great warehouse there. At that place they also refined the saltpetre which they brought from Bengal and manufactured it into gunpowder. The Dutch Governor of Gueldria, that is to say, of the fort of Poliacate, was in receipt of a rather small salary, but had a table-allowance equal to it, and could take not only the wine or oil he required, but even his clothes from the warehouses of the Company.

When Thevenot considered that he had gathered information enough on the Coromandel Coast, he returned from Masulipatam again to Haiderabad, where he spent yet three weeks more, because he would not depart, except in the society of Monsieur Bazon, who had some business to transact. Thus he obtained the opportunity of witnessing the *Muharram* festivities, which says he, are masquerades celebrated by the Moors of Golconda with even more folly than is displayed on that occasion in Persia. In the city of Bombay even now brawls occur every year during this festival, and exceptional measures are taken by the police to quell them, hence it is no wonder that in a place like Haiderabad the *Muharram* was in Thevenot's time scarcely ever brought to a termination without bloodshed; there, as in Bombay, the Sunnis generally fell out with the Shiabs and combats, in keeping with the tragic end of Hussain represented in these processions ensued; but at that season no judicial enquiry took place concerning murders,

because during the ten days of the *Muharram* the gates of paradise are open to receive all who die for the Musalman faith. Our traveller witnessed one of these fights, brought on by a Tartar who uttered some words against Hussain, which so scandalised a Shiah, that he desired to take vengeance, but the Tartar killed three men with his sword, and a man of quality who desired to separate the combatants, received a stab in the stomach, and seven persons were killed in all.

This festival had no sooner terminated, when Monsieur Bazon invited our traveller to get ready to start ; accordingly they departed on the third November from Haiderabad on their return journey to Surat. They had a passport from the king, which released them from paying any dues, as well as a man from the Government who produced it, when tax-gatherers presented themselves ; and they were always quieted with a small present for procuring betel. Thus our traveller reached Burhampur, the capital of the province of Kandesh, without any misadventure, but whilst travelling further on, the usual route towards Surat, he got the colic and learned how to cure it. The account being of some interest to us, is worth inserting in this place :—" The four kinds of colic, which are very frequent in India, bear among the Portuguese the name of *Mordechin*. The first species is a simple colic, which gives much pain ; the second brings on, in addition, purging ; whilst those afflicted with the third kind are, moreover, subject to great and painful vomiting ; but those attacked by the fourth suffer the three evils at the same time, namely, vomiting, diarrhoea, and excruciating pains ; this last I believe to be the *Cholera Morbus*. These maladies originate mostly from indigestion, and manifest themselves sometimes in so violent a manner, that they kill a man in twenty-four hours. The remedy used in India against this, is to make a little iron fork, about half a finger long, red hot in the fire, and to apply it to the sole of the patient's foot, holding it there till he can no longer bear it, and the mark of the iron remains. The operation is repeated with the same red hot iron on the other sole of the patient's foot, and usually the remedy is so efficacious, that the pain ceases at the same time. If the patient were to be bled before this branding, he would evidently be in danger of losing his life ; and I have been assured by several persons, that if he be bled before burning his sole, he infallibly dies, precisely as many days after the bleeding as he was sick before it ; but if undertaken two days after the operation, bleeding is not dangerous. Some use ligatures for this malady, and bandage the head of the patient so tightly with a bed-girth, that they seem to aim at squeezing his brains out. They do the same thing to his back, to his loins, thighs, and legs, and

when he does not feel the tightness of the bandages, it is believed that he will die. Purging alone is likewise a very usual complaint in India and an extremely dangerous one, because many persons die of it, as it is easily brought on by a little overheating of the body. The remedy is, to take two drachms of dried rhubarb, and one drachm of cummin, these substances having been pulverised must be taken in lemon-water, or if none can be had, in rose-water. The poor people among the Indians cure this malady with cooked rice only, so that it is dry after having been boiled in water. This they eat with sour milk, and do not abandon this food as long as the complaint lasts. They use the same remedy against dysentery."

Thevenot performed the journey from Berhampur to Surat in fourteen days, in the company of a Brahman and a Molla. On the road he passed through several towns and many forts; and as lions often prowled about, huts had been erected under the trees to which travellers retired at night.

After taking some rest on his arrival at Surat, purchasing the necessary provisions, and making a bargain for his voyage through a Banian, Thevenot sailed in February of the year 1667 from Surat to Bander Abassi, whence he made his way to Shiraz, but was obliged to remain for some time at that place, because he had unfortunately been wounded by one of his own pistols. As he could obtain no proper surgical treatment he had himself carried to Ispahan where he was cured, remained four or five months and departed on the 5th of October, after having made a bargain with a muleteer to take him to Tabriz. When he departed from Kum on the 8th November he was already sick, but still continued his journey; when, however, he had reached the ancient town of Savah, a little to the south-west of Teheran, he himself remarked that his spirit of curiosity had abandoned him; he nevertheless continued to describe his route as far as the village of Farsank where he lodged on the 16th of November, and his sufferings compelled him to terminate his memoirs there. He travelled, however, yet thirty leagues further, for he reached the small town of Miana, where he bade farewell to this nether world.

The account given of these two travellers of the seventeenth century in this article is chiefly restricted to their personal adventures, all their remarks on the geography, history, and statistics of India having been omitted as well as their notices of some curious quadrupeds and birds they had seen and described; but enough may have been given here to show that both are worth being published in full with suitable foot-notes.

E. REHATSEK.

ART. VI.—N.-W. P. SETTLEMENTS.

THE evils necessarily attendant on the present system of settlement are so patent, that it is hardly worth while to detail them. While a district is under settlement, be the time long or short, the minds of the whole agricultural population are kept in a ferment. The people suffer from the malpractices of subordinates. Until the revised assessments are given out, no one knows what his means of subsistence will be for the next thirty years. The income to which each man and his family have accustomed themselves for many years may be halved; and the fear of this is nearly as bad as the reality. Every man dreads the worst, rather than anticipates any bettering of his fortune. As the term of settlement draws near, no improvements costing money are undertaken, lest they should cause an enhanced assessment. The outlay of agricultural capital is thus stopped: land is sometimes actually thrown out of cultivation. There is constantly recurring popular agitation. Every one will admit that the problem, how to avert or even diminish these evils, deserves consideration.

The first suggestion that has been made with this view is to undertake no new settlement operations, but to let the current engagements run on. This would undoubtedly attain the end aimed at for a time, but at a greater cost than the end is worth. It has been already frequently pointed out that the financial test as applied to settlements is wholly misleading. A settlement may be a most successful one, may restore a declining district to prosperity, and may thus ultimately be of the greatest advantage, direct pecuniary advantage as well as other, to the State, and yet result at first in a loss of revenue. This is admitted to be true as regards districts, and it is equally true as regards the mahál, the unit of assessment. If 50 per cent. of the assets be the proper amount for Government to take as land-tax, a supposition which may be assumed as true for the present, then, when the Government is taking more than its proper amount, it is bound, by the plainest considerations of expediency, as well as of justice, to revise its demand when the term of settlement comes round: therefore all over-assessed maháls should be re-assessed, and the demand lowered. Unless, per contra, some increase be put on the under-assessed estates, Government will lose heavily. But the objections are more than mere financial ones. If it cause hardship, as it undoubtedly does, to change suddenly incomes enjoyed for thirty years, will it not cause much more hardship to cut down incomes enjoyed for sixty? The finances of the State may be in a flourishing condition at

this moment, but there is no reasonable ground for thinking that, while the expenses of the administration, day by day becoming more elaborate, are rapidly increasing, the Government will be able permanently to dispense with all increase of the land-revenue; nor indeed would it be fair that the State should permanently give up a part of its income to one special class, and that by no means a class particularly in need of relief from the national treasury. Letting the present engagements run on, on the ground of the discontent caused by new settlement operations, would be simply putting off the evil day. The burthen would eventually fall much more heavily on the shoulders of some future administration. When the inevitable revision at last came round the discontent thereby caused would be increased ten-fold, and in the meantime what fairly belongs to the national treasury, would have been given up to a comparatively wealthy individual class. This suggestion is a mere temporary expedient for shirking a disagreeable duty, which posterity will certainly have to perform, and it may safely be put aside.

Another proposal which has been made with the same end is to bring the village papers into such a state of perfection that a settlement can be effected altogether on them. There is nothing new in the idea of using the village papers for purposes of assessment. It has always been done, but this is a very different thing from assessing solely on them. Whatever may be the case in the future, it may be most emphatically asserted that at present in no single district in the N.-W. P. are these papers in such a state as to render it safe to assess upon them alone. Valuable information as to the general rates of rent prevalent on the different classes of soil may, no doubt, be derived from them, but general information of this kind is obviously of no use in appraising the assets of each estate. In his paper on "Permanent Settlements" Sir William Muir wrote:—"To adopt the village papers as the basis of future assessment would be the surest means of rendering them untrustworthy." In this opinion most revenue officers concur. But it is useless to speculate as to what may, or may not, be done in the future: one thing is certain, that no settlement which could stand a couple of years could be made at present on the village papers alone, except at an enormous sacrifice of the rights of the State. The suggestion, therefore, does not help us in determining our present course of action.

Is there, then, no alternative but to begin settlement operations afresh? In the paper from which a quotation has already been made, Sir William Muir summed up the conclusions to which he had come on the subject of settlement. Of Sir William Muir's personal opinions on such a question no one who ever knew him,

or served under him, can speak with anything but respect. He had been himself a Settlement Officer, and one of the most laborious and conscientious of that body. As Secretary to the Revenue Board, as Secretary to the local Government under Mr. Thomason, and afterwards as Member of the Board, he may be said almost to have spent his official life in the midst of a long settlement discussion. Subsequently, during his term of office as Lieutenant-Governor, much of his time was necessarily devoted to revenue subjects. But, great as is the respect due to the personal opinion of Sir William Muir, there is much more than personal opinion in the despatch to which reference has been made. Sir William Muir knew personally almost every Settlement Officer of his time; and with most of them he had talked over and over again on all revenue matters. The conclusions to which he came may fairly be taken as summing up the results of the experience of a whole generation. There would be no advantage in recapitulating here the entire scheme he set forth, which any one may read for himself; but no single paper on the subject of the future settlements of these provinces is of the same importance, or deserves such careful consideration as this does.

The scheme was briefly this: that, when a settlement had been made with a reasonable amount of accuracy, a just share in the growing prosperity of the country might be secured to the State, not by again undertaking at periodical intervals an individual assessment estate by estate, but by putting on a rateable percentage of increase on the existing revenue, determined with reference to the general rise in prices and the circumstances of the tract in question. Obviously, this plan could not be universally applied. Districts in which there had been a very large and general increase of cultivation must be excluded; but in these provinces there are probably not more than two, or at the most, three or four such districts. Then, again, the enormous profits derived from canal-irrigation could not be fairly assessed under such a system. The owners' rate, however, leviable under Act VIII. of 1872, provides a means of taxing these profits sufficiently; and an inquiry now on foot will, it is hoped, enable the Government to introduce a more efficient assessment.

Excluding, therefore, districts having a large and general increase of cultivation, and excluding canal-irrigation profits, the authorities would have to consider—

(1.) The general rise in prices:

(2.) The incidence of the present demand as compared with that of other similarly circumstanced districts (whether it be heavy, normal or especially light):

- (3.) The improvement of communications, roads, railways, &c., in the particular district or tract.

A reasonable percentage would, with reference to all these considerations, be then fixed on, as the increase to which Government was fairly entitled.

But this done, the work of assessment would be by no means ended, for it is certainly not meant that this percentage of increase should be applied rigidly in all cases. It would be necessary in the first place, to exclude all alluvial lands, with the owners of which five years' settlements would be made in accordance with the existing rules. In the second place, it would be necessary to exclude all those maháls in which the present demand presses too heavily. This is undoubtedly the most delicate part of the operation. The point in which the last settlement operations, taken as a whole, failed most, was in the insufficient attention which was paid to the past fiscal history of estates. No one knows, or can possibly know, how the revenue of an estate presses, so well as the Tahsildár who has to collect it year by year. But in the last settlement, owing to the separate organisation of the Settlement Department, and to the fact that there was not sufficiently free communication—indeed, there was not infrequently positive friction—with the district officials, much valuable information as to the pressure of the revenue was completely lost. Whether, therefore, the next settlement be carried on through specially qualified Collectors, or through Settlement Officers, one thing is certain, that the ease or difficulty with which the present revenue has been collected in each individual estate should be most carefully considered. All estates in which any of the major coercive processes have been used for the realization of the revenue should be passed under special scrutiny. The officer in charge of the operations could then draw up a list of maháls in which, for the advantage of the State, no less than that of the proprietor, it is necessary that there should be a revision. It is by no means intended to be laid down that every estate in which the revenue exceeds an exact half of the existing assets, is to be included in this class. A discussion has been for some time going on, as to whether the revenue was or was not fixed on actual assets alone. The discussion, like so many others, really turns on the exact meaning to be attached to particular terms. If the term "assets" be taken to mean actual rental, there is no doubt that the revenue was not fixed at half of this in all cases. "It is the productive power of the land," wrote the Directors in 1837, "and not its actual produce that should be taken as the guide in making the assessment." The revenue was meant to be half of what the rental proceeds would be in the event of the estate being managed with ordinary care and energy. The fact, therefore, of the

revenue being above 50 per cent. of the rental does not of itself necessarily prove that it should be reduced, and it is scarcely possible to fix an exact figure, and to say that revenue in excess of this should be cut down. Assessment cannot be carried out successfully by rule of thumb. But, speaking generally, it might perhaps be said that where the revenue exceeded 75 per cent. of the rental, there was at least ground for careful inquiry. In some of these cases the deficiency of the rental might be due to the fault of the proprietors, and then no reduction should be given; but such instances would be rare, and it might be laid down that all cases in which there was *prima facie* ground for believing the revenue to be more than 75 per cent. or so of the rental, should be removed from the class to be dealt with summarily.

There remain those estates in which there has been a great increase of cultivation, though there has been no such general increase in the districts in which they are situated. Is it advisable to deal with these specially, or not? There are comparatively speaking, very few such. Their improvement is due to the labours and energy of the proprietors, and it would be good policy to let them reap the fruits of these, and not to assess these estates individually.

We have now arrived at the stage at which the general percentage of increase may be applied. It is by no means part of the plan that the percentage should be necessarily the same for an entire district. Some of our present district settlements have been effected by two or more Settlement Officers; and from this and other causes it is notorious that the revenue of certain tahsils, parganas, and other tracts is much heavier, than that of others in the same district.

Still the first thing to do would be to arrive at a general percentage for the whole district, and then to raise or lower any peculiar tracts above or below it. Say, for example, that ten per cent. was regarded, looking to the general rise in prices, and improvement in communications, as a reasonable increase, it would be open to the Collector to modify this according to the circumstances of particular tracts. One tahsil, or pargana, as the case may be, lies across an unbridged river, impassable at some seasons of the year. No new roads have been opened out in it, and from the nature of the country, there is not much hope of improvement in communications. There are few marts, or bazars, to which it is easy to bring produce for sale, such as abound in the rest of the district. These circumstances, which are merely given here as examples,—for, it would not be possible to give an exhaustive list,—would certainly be held as sufficient reasons for making the enhancement smaller

than elsewhere. If ten per cent. were taken from the more favoured parts of the district, five, six or eight per cent. would be enough in comparatively unfortunate tracts. Then, again, it is easy to imagine circumstances the reverse of those stated above, which might warrant the percentage being somewhat increased. The main principle underlying all these arrangements is, that, whatever increase is taken, should bear a certain definite proportion to the amount which is taken at present. In other words, having excluded those cases which required to be treated exceptionally, the aim should be gradually to endeavour to amend and improve the existing arrangements, rather than to make entirely new ones.

In the discussions on the subject, it has been suggested that the revenue should be fixed from time to time with reference to the price of some main staple. This proposal is impracticable, for the simple reason that there is no one staple of such universal growth and use that its value could be taken as a standard of universal application. In arriving at the proposed percentage of increase for a district, or decrease, supposing such to be necessary, the prices of ordinary agricultural produce would of course be the first consideration, but by no means the only one. The incidence of the revenue per cultivated acre varies from Rs. 2-8 to 10 annas in the North-Western Provinces. Much of this variation can no doubt be satisfactorily explained by the natural circumstances of the different districts; but it is equally undoubted, that much of it is due to the idiosyncracies of individual Settlement Officers, and to the different views as to heavy or light assessments which were in vogue at different periods of this prolonged series of operations. In fixing, therefore, the district percentage of increase, the comparative heaviness or otherwise of the existing demand would be carefully looked to. Excluding the exceptional cases already referred to, we would not look to the individual circumstances of maháls at all, and we would look on districts as component parts of one province, with a view to gradually equalising the pressure of the land-revenue demand over it all.

The first important part of the principle is, as already stated, that the increase should be in proportion to the amount already payable: the next point is, that the increase should be gradual. Progressive jamas came into use towards the close of the last settlements, but their use was quite exceptional. Unless the increase be so trifling as not to exceed one ordinary yearly instalment, or unless there be some specially good reasons to the contrary, new jamas should invariably be progressive. A Collector then, having arrived at his percentage of increase, and having obtained the sanction of superior authority to it, would proceed to

offer settlement to the proprietors of all the estates which had not been marked out for exceptional treatment as already explained. If they were willing to pay, say two per cent. additional for five years, that is ten per cent. in all, they would hold their estates free from further enhancement for fifteen, twenty, or even twenty-five years, as the Government might, upon general grounds, determine. If they refused the summary settlement—for so we may call it—offered to them in this way, a regular settlement would be made with them on the present system, and the revenue would be fixed at fifty per cent. of the assets. There is little doubt, however, that, if the rateable increase were determined with discretion, there would be few such refusals. The advantages of such a scheme are that under it ninety per cent., or, at any rate, a very large proportion of the maháls of a district could be easily and expeditiously settled. It would not be possible for chaprasis or amla to harass the people, or extort money from them. The sudden and violent alterations of income which we have at present would be avoided. Any increase would be proportional to the amount now paid, and would be gradual; and the consequence would be that there would be less discontent and agitation among the people. Last, but not least, the people would have the assurance that, whatever improvements they effected in their land, they themselves would enjoy the full benefit of them, and that no part would be taken as increased land-revenue. Promises, indeed, to this effect have already been made by the Government, but the only way of making the people perfectly sure that they may improve their land with security is to carry out a settlement on principles which make it impossible to increase a man's assessment on account of his individual labours and energy.

There are no doubt some disadvantages in the proposed scheme. In the first place, it is probable, that Government would lose a considerable sum. The enhancement on many estates would not be nearly so great as it would be if the present plan of settlement were adhered to. This is undeniable; but the real question is—would not the advantages to be gained be worth the sacrifice? Then, again, it will be said, and not altogether without truth, that the mistakes and inequalities of the present settlement would be stereotyped. The man who is hard pressed now would find the pressure increased. As far as the last objection goes, it may be replied that sufficient precautions would be taken to secure that the revenue did not press too severely on any. Any one is at liberty to have a regular settlement. The other argument, that the man who gets lightly off now would get lightly off then, is doubtless true; but, as said just now, the real question is, whether it would

not be worth while for the State to make some sacrifice in view of the advantages to be attained. Under any settlement some men probably will get off too lightly, and there is no reason whatever for thinking that the mistakes of the next settlement will be any fewer in this respect than those of the present one. Knowledge of the country and of people do not, unfortunately, increase with each succeeding official generation.

In conclusion, there are two other points which may be adverted to. If a plan, such as that briefly sketched out above, be adopted, how, it will be asked, are the rents of occupancy-tenants to be fixed? One of the few recommendations of the Famine Commission which has been cordially accepted by the great majority of revenue officers in these provinces—and, indeed, it is almost the only one which has been so accepted—is that the rents of occupancy-tenants should be fixed for the term of settlement. Whether or not the present conditions for the acquisition of occupancy rights should be maintained, need not be discussed here, as the question is one totally distinct from that under consideration. There would, however, be no difficulty in providing in the administration paper, as one of the conditions of the settlement offered, that the rents of occupancy-tenants should not be enhanced above a certain standard during the term of settlement. It has been urged, and urged with reason, that hitherto the theory of our settlements has been exclusively in favour of the landlord. When a man gets Rs. 1,000 a year, we take Rs. 500 from him; at the next settlement you raise the revenue to Rs. 1,000, but at the same time you raise his rent-roll to Rs. 2,000, or you go on the assumption that he can himself raise it to that amount. The pressure of the increased revenue falls entirely on the tenantry. In fact, according to our theory, the landlord profits by each successive enhancement of revenue. Of course, this is a good deal modified in practice, but still it is very necessary to take steps to secure, that, if the State chooses to sacrifice some revenue for the content and prosperity of the people, the landlord class shall not enjoy all the benefits of that sacrifice. In the case, therefore, of an occupancy tenure paying a rent of two hundred rupees and a revenue of one hundred, it might be provided that, if the revenue were raised to one hundred and ten rupees, the rent should not be raised above two hundred and fifteen instead of two hundred and twenty, which, according to the old theory, it should be.

It is difficult, however, to discuss these questions without taking up the whole subject of tenant-right, which is beyond the scope of this paper. The first thing we have to do is to settle the prin-

ciple on which the Government is to take its own revenue ; the other subsidiary arrangements can easily be made afterwards.

One point more : the rigidity of our revenue system is constantly complained of. It is absolutely necessary that a much greater power of suspension in bad seasons, such as was formerly exercised, be again given to district officers. More than this is necessary. Where, through no fault of the proprietors, the revenue has exceeded a certain figure, say seventy-five per cent. of the assets, for a specified term, such as five years, some distinct and definite procedure must be laid down for reducing it. Even in the most perfect settlement mistakes are to be found ; and it is one of the greatest blots on our present system, that there is no regular means of correcting these until the next settlement comes round. Gradual correction of mistakes and inequalities, as said above, is what should be aimed at.

J. S. M.

NOTE.—In 1875 the then Secretary of State, Lord Salisbury, wrote as follows :—" We can favour as we have opportunity, leniency, and regularity of assessment ; we can discourage attempts to take advantage of inflated prices ; we can avoid and disavow language belonging to the rent theory."* At the same time I think we may fairly discourage any scientific refinements in the work of assessment, which are a natural exercise of the intellect in highly cultivated officers, but which worry the ryots, distribute the burden of the State with needless inequality, and impose a costly machinery on the State."

ART. VII.—PHASES IN THE FORTUNES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

AFTER the departure of Sir Thomas Roe, negotiations were commenced to extend operations beyond the limits of Surat, Calicut and Broach, which attracted the attention of the settlers. During the years which followed a number of presidents ruled over the factories. The names of Methwold, of Fiemlen and Benton would not now be remembered, but for the fact of some of the despatches of that early period having been examined recently by a gentleman who has contributed a few pages to the history of this early period of British India's history.* A few brief lines engraved on a simple stone monument in the cemetery of Surat trace the history of Francis Benton's career as president of Surat. It bears testimony, that "for five years he discharged his duties with the greatest diligence and strictest integrity." To Benton succeeded Captain Jeremy Blackman, who was appointed on a salary of five hundred pounds per annum; and whose salary at that time was considered to be munificent, compared with that which had been given to previous factors. It was in his time that the animosities, which had embittered for successive years the old and new Companies in London, were introduced among the representatives of the rival companies in India. During the protectorate of Cromwell, the gains of the old East India Company grew rapidly, and the dividends rose accordingly. The fortunes of more than one Director were made easily and rapidly. Although the capital subscribed did not amount to more than three hundred and seventy thousand pounds, yet the credit of the Company stood high. Money was largely borrowed, and the borrowed money repaid, as usual, nearly seventy-five per cent. It was no wonder, then, that other traders should cast a longing eye on gains acquired with such facility. Towards the close of the reign of Charles I. a rival Company was anxious to enter the field. The stock-holders of the old Company were thus exposed to bitter and protracted annoyances from the candidates for the new Company. The animosity of the rival Company; however, did not really become formidable until the end of the reign of Charles I. After various applications one petition was favourably answered by that monarch. From him Sir William Courtend

Courtend's Associations.

* The early history of the factory of Surat, of Bombay, and the subordinate factories on the Western

Coast; by Philip Anderson. Bombay, 1854.

at last obtained a license to trade in the Indian seas; and Captain Weddal and Mr. Mountney were despatched to India with authority to land and trade there. This license was obtained through the influence of a gentleman of the King's bed-chamber. He prevailed upon the King to take a share in the trade. The license was granted, and Courtend's ships, after a prosperous voyage, arrived at Surat.

There Mr. Weddal presented the King's letter and his credentials. But the president of Surat refused to acknowledge him. The president stated that he had received no authority from the Directors of his company in England, that he did not know of the existence of a second company, that his orders were not received from the King direct, that he was perfectly ignorant of the privileges granted to the new company, and that if any consideration was to be accorded him, he must wait until instructions were received direct from London. But Courtend was not thus to be set aside. He commenced trading at Rajpore and established factories at Carwar and at Baticol. The arrival of Courtend's ships at Surat threw the factors into confusion: uneasy apprehensions were excited, and trade was suspended. A reference was immediately made to the Directors in London. They were solicited to lay the matter before the King and to represent the great loss which the Company's trade must suffer from a competition with unchartered traders. The next year a despatch was received from the Secretary of State, confirming the credentials of Courtend. The old Company, on their part, were not inactive in London. They forwarded the despatches to the Privy Council and, even went so far as to petition the King. But neither the Privy Councillors nor the King were in a mood to listen to their addresses. Private and confidential despatches were nevertheless forwarded by the Leadenhall Street Company to their factors at Surat, urging them to oppose, in every possible manner, the representatives of the new Company in India. Nor was opportunity long wanting for open animosity to shew itself. It was soon reported that one of Courtend's ships had seized one of the Company's ships and had plundered it. Reprisals at Surat immediately commenced. The factory established there by Courtend's party was immediately seized. The property and stock belonging to the factors of the new Company were confiscated. A one-sided and violently exaggerated memorial was forwarded to the Directors of the old Company. They represented that unless Courtend's association were withdrawn, their affairs in India would be ruined. The Directors were requested again to solicit the aid of the Privy

Council. But the Privy Council refused to listen to their grievances. They would not believe that any violence against property was perpetrated by Courtend; nor would they listen to any grave accusations against him, until his return to England. The wisdom of the council frustrated this violent outburst of animosity. Although no redress was obtained, it was a significant circumstance, that even at this early period the Company's factors in India could not brook any competition. This unseen rivalry, this ill-disguised animosity, and half concealed hatred of the new arrivals indicated symptoms of weakness among the Company's factors.

On the return of Courtend's ships to London, laden with Indian produce, the shareholders realized a large profit, and it was thought desirable to renew the license. A fresh grant was obtained, which continue their privileges for five years. It was, however, decided that in future they were not to trade at those ports where the Leadenhall Street Company had already established its factories.

The return of Courtend's expedition to India was, as might have been expected, the source of fresh disputes. The Company, at the instigation of their factors in India, again renewed their addresses to the throne. The tone of their remonstrances grew bolder, and a committee was appointed by Charles to take their grievances into consideration. This committee had instructions to enquire fully into the matter. A class of questions which had not before suggested itself was now brought under discussion. A scheme, which had for its objects a union between Courtend's Association and the Company, was drawn up in concert with the principal Directors of the Company and the principal members of the committee. In this instrument clauses were added which discussed the means of obtaining reparation from the Dutch factors who were then settled at Surat. There had been no serious quarrel between the contending factors at Surat, but the English factors had begun to regard with dislike the growing opulence of their Dutch neighbours; and this feeling was very naturally strengthened by certain acts of injustice and by some instances of insolence displayed by the Dutch settlers. Rivalry engendered hatred, and the hatred became reciprocal. The infection was soon caught by the Directors in London. Opinions, which at the time of the accession of Charles I. to the throne had scarcely been entertained by the most bigoted of the Company, were now shared by the most moderate-minded men on the Direction. An opinion gained ground that the mode of trading with India required improvement, not only as it affected the action of rival companies of the English nation, but also that of other nations.

The quarrel with the Dutch factors grew serious, and intrigue and violence were employed by the Dutch to eject the English settlers from India. Then followed the plunder and massacre of Amboyna, which has left a lasting stain on the annals of Dutch history in India.

It was owing to these quarrels that the Company applied for a firman from Shajehan, for some plots of land on the river Hooghly to erect a factory there. Permission was accorded, and in less than two hundred years, the village where the English first settled, was destined to rise into the capital of India. On the site where once stood the hamlets of Calcutta, Chutanuttee and Govindpore, now rise the princely mansions which have given Calcutta a high rank among the cities of the Eastern world.

The Charter of the East India Company which was granted by Elizabeth, was confirmed by her successors. By the Seventh Act of James I. the Company was raised to the dignity of a body politic and corporate, but with the reservation that the charters could be annulled by the Crown upon a notice of three years. Charters of confirmation in 1661 and 1687 were granted both by Charles II. and James II, by which the representatives of the Company in India were allowed to build forts and to raise an army to make peace or war with native princes and chiefs, and to arrest and deport to England Englishmen trading in India without licenses.

Relations with Native States, 1686.

It was at this period that the policy which was first laid down by the Company, was destined to suffer a change. As yet they had not been engaged in any serious wars with native powers. But they were soon forced to modify their relations with these powers, and to abandon their defensive attitude. They were compelled to send up the river Ganges ten armed ships and ten companies to levy war against the native Prince who ruled over the Gangetic delta. In the engagement the English were unfortunate, and reprisals rapidly followed. The English were driven from their settlements in Bengal, Surat was threatened, invaded and seized, and a hostile fleet surrounded Bombay. It seemed imminent that the handful of English who were then in India would be made prisoners or driven into the sea. The East India Company felt their embarrassments in England, in pecuniary losses, and in failing dividends. These losses and difficulties were exaggerated by their enemies and rivals in England, and the pamphlets then written teemed with bitter and acrimonious tirades and philippics.

That there was some reason for the display of an animosity so bitter, could not be denied. The Company had reaped large profits

in their trade, and they were resolved to maintain their monopoly in the East against all new companies. They prevented Englishmen not in their service from trading in the East. Some were despotically used, others were deported to England. The ships of private adventurers were seized, their goods confiscated, and the crews condemned to death. Those who were thus cruelly treated, but who had survived and had returned to England, openly accused the agents of the Company for their malpractices in the East.

In many instances, the accusations were just. The public mind was biassed against the Company; and when disasters were encountered, men were not wanting to carry these accusations to the foot of the throne. The public excitement was great, and angry recriminations followed angry accusations. The press took an active part in the discussions which were taking place. The House of Commons, in no gentle mood, carried an address to the King, praying him to dissolve the "East India Company according to the powers reserved in the Charter, and to constitute another East India Company for the better preserving the East India trade to this kingdom."

It is very rarely that factions that have once come into open conflict drop all animosity. Thus, in the case of the East India Company and their opponents, one intrigue followed another, and the political rival of the East India Company determined to carry out their schemes at any risk. It was proposed that a second East India Company should be started, and that once for all the hated monopolists should be effectually put down. But once again did the riches of the East India Company prevail over all opposition. Ninety thousand pounds were spent by the Directors in presents and bribes. But it was only for a time that they succeeded, for it was not long after, in October 1693, that a Resolution was passed, that "all subjects of England had an equal right to trade to the East Indies unless prohibited by Act of Parliament." Such a Resolution, aiming, as it did, against the very spirit of monopoly on which the trade with the East was based, excited the keenest apprehensions of the Company; and unblushing intrigues and lavish gifts were once again resorted to, but in this instance, without success. In the year 1698, an Act of Parliament was passed, establishing a new East India Company, with a capital of two millions sterling, the entire amount of which was to be lent to the Crown at 8 per cent. interest.

The first Company had, indeed, received its three years' notice of dissolution. Its charter was once again on the verge of revocation. The ruinous competition which threatened it, plunged its affairs into pecuniary embarrassment: But rather than accept the fate which appeared to be inevitable, its Directors

entered into a compromise, and in the year 1702 a union was formed on the basis of free trade. This union was not a cordial one; but it was for the interests of the united Company to set aside their differences and to obtain from the ministers of the Crown concessions which, owing to their unexpected successes in India, were at this conjuncture absolutely necessary.

In 1708, accordingly, on a further loan to the Government of a million and twenty thousand sterling, a new Bill, granting extended privileges, was obtained from Parliament. Their charter was confirmed to the year 1726 and their interests were thus consolidated and secured.

From the East their agents wrote favourably of progress, of prosperity, and of increased territorial acquisitions. To their already acquired settlements, they added the Concan, the territories of Canara, and Malabar and Travancore on the Western coast of the Peninsula, while on the East, two settlements were added to their list, those of Calcutta and Madras, which, in a few years, were destined to rise as commercial cities to greater importance than Benares, Agra, or Delhi, till then the chief centres of Hindu learning and religion, and the chief cities of the Mahomedan Emperors.

They drew to these cities the native traders from other ports; and, as at each factory the nucleus of a town arose, a necessity was felt for judicial and civil tribunals, where, in civil or in criminal actions, justice might be done between English and native traders without resorting to the existing Hindu courts. These courts, it was urged, were adapted for the natives, who understood them, but they were not applicable to the English settler, whose laws were not based either on the precepts of the Koran, or on the institutes of Menu.

In 1726, accordingly, they applied for and obtained a charter empowering them to establish their first municipal courts of justice. In the three principal towns of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, courts were established, and the presiding justices, then called mayors, vested with power to decide all civil cases. From their decisions an appeal lay to the President and Council, who were also entrusted with the power of holding quarter sessions. Minor courts of requests were instituted for the adjudication of smaller amounts. Such was the first simple basis of Anglo-Indian judicature established in India. But the time had arrived for a renewal of the East India Charter. The advocates of free-trade were still dissatisfied. The formation of a double united Company had yet done nothing towards removing the restrictions which prevented free-trade with the East. The opposition brought to bear against the united Company was as strong as it was against the

East India Company. The abolition of their monopoly was demanded ; and the renewal of their Charter was once again threatened. But the Directors of the united Company were equal to the emergency. To conciliate the public and the Government, they reduced the interest of the debt to 4 per cent., and they promised to make an annual contribution to the State of £200,000 per annum.

At this time important events were occurring in the East, which demanded the closest vigilance and attention on the part of the Company. The Mogul Empire was rapidly disintegrating. The fabric of empire which the Mogul dynasty had helped to build in India, was fast crumbling and falling into decay. The Empire had overgrown itself ; and when, in 1707, the death of Aurangzeb took place, the great feudatories were ready to throw off their allegiance to the Imperial authority which had once centred in the Government at Delhi. Insurrections and revolutions followed in rapid succession.

The embers of revolt, which, under the vigorous rule of an Akbar or Shahjehan, had died out, were fanned afresh when it was found that a feeble puppet had ascended the peacock throne. Petty wars, raids and reprisals between neighbouring chiefs and deputies of the Government threatened to lay waste the once cultivated lands of the Carnatic, the Deccan, and the remote provinces of Bengal. The Mahratta freebooters spread devastation and pillage wherever the sound of their kettle drums was heard. At one time they pillaged up to the walls of Delhi ; at another, they spread terror and consternation among the English factories and settlements of Calcutta. Even in the present day, although there are now no traces now left of it, the citizens of Calcutta still talk of the ditch with which the early factors had to environ the factories as a defence against the Mahratta free lances. The masses, persecuted and plundered, sought refuge in the English settlements, and fled for protection to Bombay, Fort St. David, Fort St. George, and Calcutta. They and their families found protection under the English flag, and raising hamlets and homesteads under the shadow of the trees which grew round the settlements, formed the first nucleus of the presidency towns of India. Thus rose Calcutta and Madras. To obtain supplies, in order to carry on the Government thus thrust upon the Company's servants, was one of their first necessities. The revenues of the country had always been raised through the agency of native collectors. This mode was resorted to, and villages were farmed out to these functionaries by the year. That there would be much injustice in the exaction of rents and much cruelty resorted to, was to be expected from the general anarchy which prevailed. The Company, separated, as they were, from their

servants, were powerless to control their actions, or to suppress their malpractices. There was no summary process which could be used against the tenants by the landlords. The result was that the landlords of the soil, in order to meet the Government demands, soon became impoverished. They found no mercy from the native collectors. They obtained no redress on appeal. Villages were deserted by the landlords and the tenantry, and entire tracts which had come under the possession of the Company, were soon depopulated. The peasantry formed themselves into predatory gangs of robbers, or joined the lawless bands of Maharratta freebooters.

The waste lands were put up to sale, and the native collectors and farmers who were the chief instruments in forcing away the tenantry from the soil, and bankers who had advanced money to the landlords at usurious rates, were the first to purchase up the villages offered for sale. Land thus speedily changed hands; but there was scarcely any labor to reclaim that which was fast degenerating into untended wastes and forests.

In the meantime the Government of Clive did not exert sufficient pressure to check the malpractices which arose. The officials of the Government oppressed the people. Bribes were received by the Company's servants, which were disguised under the name of presents received from native princes and chiefs. A large inland trade was carried on by them, on their own account; and perquisites were received as an addition to their legitimate salary.*

These complaints reached the Company, and were the subject of remark in the House of Commons. The Directors remonstrated and protested, but in vain. It was not until a very decided resolution was passed, and a peremptory order sent out that the practice, which was sanctioned by the president at Calcutta, of private trading in salt, betel-nut and tobacco, in order that the proceeds might be divided amongst the members of the council and the higher civil and military servants of the Company, as an increase to their regular salaries, was suppressed. Plunged into debt by the loss of their expected revenues, the Company applied to Lord North, the minister of the day, for another loan. The Parliament granted a loan of £140,000, but on condition that the dividends of the Company should be restricted to six per cent., unless under exceptional circumstances.

* The report presented by a select Committee on Indian affairs at this time contained specific and heavy charges against some of the Company's officers in very exalted posi-

tions. Lord Olive himself was not exempted from the accusation of receiving bribes and perquisites on various occasions.

In the same sessions an Act was passed regulating the Company's affairs, and thus commenced the first intervention of the Crown in the internal management of the administration of India.

It was enacted that the Court of Directors should be elected for four years only;—that the qualifications for voting at the election of Directors should be the possession of one thousand pounds of stock;—that a new Court should be established consisting of a chief justice and three puisne judges, to be appointed by the Crown;—that the members of the Government should be prohibited from trading on their own account;—that all who were in the service of the Crown or of the Company in India, should be prohibited from receiving bribes from any native chiefs or princes:—and, that the Presidency of Bengal should, in all matters of authority and reference, take precedence of the two Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The Company protested against this Act, as interfering with their chartered rights; but their necessities prevented their asserting an independent position. Lord North triumphed, and the principle of a Parliamentary control over the internal Government of India by the Crown was firmly established.

Under this Act, Warren Hastings was the first Governor-General appointed to India. During the administration of Mr. Fox, two bills were introduced by that minister, which would have superseded entirely the Charter of the East India Company. It was proposed to take from the Proprietors and Directors the entire administration of their Indian affairs, and to vest it in the hands of seven Commissioners who could not be removed by the Crown. The Company protested against the confiscation of the Charter, and the city of London petitioned against the bill. The King himself joined in the opposition, and when the bill was taken to the Upper House, Earl Temple, in language which had the sanction of the King, denounced it as an infamous bill, and a measure which “involved a stretch of power so truly alarming, that it went to seize upon the most inestimable part of our constitution—our chartered rights.” The result is too well known. The coalition ministry was dismissed, and Pitt was called to office. Mr. Pitt's first bill on India was unsuccessful; but his second bill was carried by a large majority and passed into an Act. It was destined to change the administration of the Company's affairs both in England and India. Its principal provisions may be thus briefly sketched. A Board of Control, consisting of a certain number of Privy Councillors, was established. They were appointed by the King and removeable at his pleasure. No despatch could be forwarded to India by the Directors, unless countersigned by them. All questions of import-

124 Phases in the Fortunes of the E. I. Company.

ance connected with the military and civil Government of India, were to be referred to the Board in the first instance ; decisions connected with peace and war could only emanate from the Board of Control, whose orders were to be transmitted to India through a secret department of the Court of Directors. The power of appointing their Governor-Generals and their superior officers was still, it is true, reserved to the Court of Directors, but the sanction of the Board of Control to the nomination was absolutely necessary. The chief power in India was to rest in the Governor-General and a Council of three, of whom the Commander-in-Chief was to rank second. The Governments of Madras and Bombay were to be established on similar principles.

C. W. CLINE

ART. VIII.—CHRONICLES OF THE MARAVA COUNTRY.

IN the CXXXIII number of the *Calcutta Review*, 1878, we brought the line of the rulers of the Marava country down to the year 1720, at which date the chroniclers place the accession of Thandya Setupathi. He can hardly be esteemed to have been a fortunate man. Though he had been formally accepted as head of the clan after the death of his predecessor, he had not secured the allegiance of Bavani Sankara Teven, who was now forming a party in the Court of Tanjore, having baited his application for a Tanjorian invasion of Ramnad with the promise, that should he be placed upon the throne, his first act would be to restore to Tanjore all the provinces wrested from that frontier by the Kilaven. On this secret mutual understanding, a large force was sent along the Northern taluks of the Ramnad kingdom under the command of Peishwa Ananta Rao; and in the campaign which ensued Thandya Setupathi was ignominiously driven out. His flight was so headlong, that we never meet with his name again. When Bavani Sankara Teven came to settle with the Tanjore host, he found himself in the greatest pecuniary difficulties. The commandants of the outlying forts, and the leading tribesmen were disgusted at the cession of so much fertile province back to Tanjore. They, therefore, offered him no aid. They even took advantage of his illegitimacy to dispute his right to the assumption of the coveted title Setupathi; and in their daily intercourse, when they met, they made him feel the absence of those tokens of respectful bearing, the neglect of which, seemingly trivial to us as they may appear, is to a proud Marava chief more galling than the most positive injury. The season also seems to have been unusually bad; and the ameens were unable to collect the revenue from a starving and overtaxed agricultural population. In this state of affairs Kattya Teven, of Arundanghi, the maternal uncle of the last Setupathi cast about for an alliance, with the assistance derived through which he might succeed in recovering the kingdom. He had a great friendship for the son of the Poligar of Vellicotai,—Vellicotai being one of the eight divisions into which Vizia Raghoonathen had formed the Ramnad kingdom. Vengu Teven was the first Poligar; and his son Sasivarna Peria Udeiya Teven was a man of most extraordinary physical strength. This man hated Bavani Sankara Teven, not only on account of his usurpation of the succession, but on personal grounds. He therefore welcomed Kattya Teven with open arms; and the pair proceeded as humble suitors to the Court of Tanjore, where, choosing a suitable occasion, as they thought, they unfolded their scheme,

The Rajah who had not long before assisted largely in the king-making of the usurper, was not unnaturally a little doubtful how to act upon the proposal to unseat him again. Whether he was really reluctant to throw over his former ally, and adopted this as a plan to rid himself of an unwelcome suitor, or whether it arose out of the joviality of a drinking bout, a bet was suddenly made by him, by which he bound himself to assist the Vellicotai Poligar's son, if he dared to enter the cage of the fiercest tiger in the palace. Peria Udeiya Teven immediately leaped up, got himself put into the cage with the tiger, which, after a fierce struggle, he managed to kill, and claimed the bet. The doubting Rajah was won over by the deed of heroism; and immediately despatched another large army into the Ramnad territory, which brought back Bavani Sankara Teven to Tanjore, where he afterwards died a prisoner. Kattya Teven then became the 11th Setupathi by universal acclamation.

The reward of the tiger-slayer was proportionate to the service which he had rendered. After he had paid his formal respects to his friend, and taken part in the ceremonies of his installation, the new Setupathi took him aside and embraced him as his "tambi," or younger brother. The embrace and the appellation was to be significant of a substantial reward. The Rajah then divided his dominions into two parts in the proportion of three to two. The greater, and as it has happened, the most sterile portion he reserved for himself. The smaller portion was handed over to the Poligar's son, who thus became the first Rajah of Independent Shivagangah. In the pages of Orme's history we find this man figuring under the title of the "lesser Marava." All this happened in 1733, shortly after which the 11th Setupathi died. With him in fact ceases the history of the united Maravar kingdom, a territory which in the palmiest days of the Kilaven had, with the rich provinces wrested from Tanjore, covered an extent of five thousand square miles. Politically speaking, the 11th Setupathi extinguished himself by breaking up the territory; and when later on, the servants of the East India Company came to deal with his line, they dealt very summarily with any pretensions to sovereignty within his dominions arrogated by the ruling Poligar, or as he is now called, zemindar of Ramnad. As, however, the Setupathi still exists in the minds of the tribesmen, and the fortunes of the line have been so far dragged out from the obscurity of half forgotten native annals, it may not be uninteresting to piece together the remainder of the family history down to modern times.

Muthu Komaru Setupathi succeeded Kattya Tevan, reigning over the petty kingdom of Ramnad thirteen years. The Tamil chroniclers tell us but little about him, though they remark

that he abstained from animal food: and that he was known by the name of Chelluthorai. In spite, however, of these precautions of diet, and his numerous wives, there was no male issue surviving this Rajah at his death. The all-powerful minister Vellian Servaikaren then set up a stranger, named Rackappett Teven; but as he afterwards found that his nominee, though properly installed according to the ceremonials of the race, failed to command the respect of the tribe, he deposed him in favor of Chella Teven, known hereafter as Vizia Regunatha Setupathi, who became 14th ruler on the list. This reign has an interest for us, as it was about this time that the English troops were first making their way into the country. It is said that at this time, the vast treeless cotton plains were covered with a thick forest of the *babul* tree, the paths through which were only known to the villagers. The forest, if such existed, has long since disappeared; but it is quite possible that at one time it furnished an admirable defence to the country. The island of Paumben, in the interior, is still covered with a dense undergrowth of this prickly tree, which is exceedingly difficult to traverse in places where no regular paths exist. From Mill's history we gather an amusing instance of the manner, in which, in these days, British officers advanced the work of conciliation, or, as it might be called, assumption. In 1755 we read that Colonel Heron, after summoning the Poligars to meet him at Covilgoody, which is in the Shivagangah estate, gave their deputies three English flags for their use. It is not clear what was to be done with the flags; but the gift gave great umbrage to the neighbouring Poligar, Tondiman, and the Rajah of Tanjore. The treaty was in the end cancelled; but not before Maphuri Khan, and the Poligars had joined hands, and raised the standard of revolt. In 1756 Captain Calliand in marching from Tanjore to Tinnevely, penetrated through the Maravar kingdom; and in 1757 the same officer bargained his way into the fort of Madura. Every day this part of the Southern country was becoming better known, and the red line continued to advance, never to withdraw its hold. Raghoonatha died in 1760, leaving no male issue; and was succeeded by the son of his sister Muthu Veerayee Nachear. This boy was still a minor in 1772, when the Ramnad territory was invaded by Nadar Mulk, the son of the Nabob Syed Ali Khan. He was kept in polite imprisonment for some years, until having come of age, he made a convention with the Nabob to pay him an annual tribute of 36,000 Parangi pagodas. He was then allowed to be installed. His astute minister, Damodarum Pillai, immediately placed the fort of Ramnad in a state of thorough defence, adding an inner wall to the mud and stone ramparts built in the time of the 8th Setupathi. He then defied the power of the Nabob;

stopping the payment of tribute, and defeating an army sent to collect it. He was equally successful in putting down internal disturbance ; for it is related at great length in the Tamul chronicles how he drove out of the borders of the country twenty-one whole families of Maravars who had been aspiring to the regal power, on the grounds of their being descended from an older stock than the present Setupathi, and who had been plaguing the estate with their lawless acts. On the whole, the Maravar dominion seemed to be about to take a new lease of life, when two circumstances again depressed it. The first was the assassination of the spirited minister by some private enemy. The second was the succession of the East India Company to the position lately occupied by the Nabob under the treaty of 1792. Unlike a native power, the English could not affect to despise open rebellion. Colonel Martyn was sent down with an English force to occupy Ramnad and to levy the annual tribute. He came and settled in the heart of the town, occupying a bungalow on the bank of the large reservoir, already spoken of in these pages as the Mugavai Urani. The bungalow still exists, and still bears the name of Martyn bungalow. The stout Colonel's likeness, in the stiff military dress of the period, is depicted on the walls of the hall of installation in the palace. He has behind him two young officers also in military dress. Facing them all sits the Setupathi evidently ill at ease. The Setupathi's wife is at his side ; and if the picture were not remarkable in other respects for the strong coloring, the perpetuation of the old styles of dress, and the attitude of the parties, it deserves a notice on account of the introduction of this lady into the picture, the present Maravars affecting the most rigid seclusion of their ladies behind the *pardah*. Behind the Setupathi's chair stands the great minister Mutthulappa Pillai, than whom no man was better known at the time : for he had the direction of everything. Very different to his predecessor in office, he believed that the best chance of the improvement of the country lay in internal reform, and a hearty co-operation with the British Agent. The tribute was punctually paid. Travellers' halting places were built along the main roads of pilgrimage ; roads were opened through the forest ; immense sums were spent on the restoration of the Pagodas which were falling into ruins, the splendid Sokkatam Maudapam, or cloistered precincts of the temple at Rameswaram being finally completed under the direction of this minister. Though it may have drained away the surplus revenues, liberal expenditure, and on such objects, was sure to be applauded by the people ; and the result is, that we find the Tamul chroniclers literally incapable of venting their feelings sufficiently in their estimate of the greatness of this minister. Their feelings must, however, be allowed for, as they boast themselves to

be lineally descended from him ; and they are certainly of the same Vellallar caste. It might hardly be considered now-a-days a subject of proper boast to have complicated the systems of account keeping ; but not only are all the intricacies of the present land system in Ramnad credited to Muthuirlappa Pillai ; but he is also stated to have perpetuated the length of his foot by stamping it in some villages as the unit of land measurement. In the length of the central wall of the choultry at Kadugu Southai, we find the length of the rod used under his orders for the measurement of dry lands = 72 cubits. Similarly the door frame of the Kunnangoody temple, measuring 23 feet in height by 9 feet in breadth, refers to the measurement of wet lands, and gardens in dry lands respectively. As long as the minister was making his fortune he adopted great humility ; having not forgotten that he had been taken into his master's confidence from a very low post. But as his close intimacy with the Colonel increased, his pride and confidence in himself waxed greater, until at last the Setupathi could stand his insolence no longer, and dismissed him in favor of Muthu Komaru Pillai, his rival. The fallen minister taking advantage of the fact that the Rajah had been building a strong palace some miles out of Ramnad, at a place known as Tirupallam, near the sea, artfully insinuated a treasonable intent against his late master. The Colonel who, as his friend, had been very angry at his dismissal, represented the matter in the false light put upon it. Thereupon Captain Penny was sent down with a detachment of sepoys ; and the alleged rebellious attitude of the Rajah was visited upon him by his being carried off as a prisoner in 1795. After this the fort was partially dismantled, and the estate was taken under the direct management of the Honorable East India Company. The first Collector was Mr. Powney, who was succeeded by a Mr. Jackson ; and lastly, came Mr. Lushington, whose name figures most in the modern Ramnad accounts. The last named gentleman administered for three years, at the end of which he submitted the report, which became the basis of the Permanent Settlement, it being agreed that Mangaleswara Nachear, the sister of the deposed zemindar, might enjoy the estate as next heir, subject to an annual peishcash, or quit rent of 94,000 star pagodas. This sum was fixed by striking the average of six Fualies 1205—1211, exclusive of 1210, which was left out of calculation as that year had been almost a famine year. Of the average so obtained two-thirds were taken by the Government and one-third was left to the enjoyment of the Rane. In other respects she was left to administer her estate as she pleased, subject, of course, to the Company's Regulations passed prior to, or in force at the time of settlement, so far as they affected such settled estates. Mangaleswara Nachear managed

for about ten years, during which time she effected as much harm as a weak priest-ridden woman might be expected to effect. Rent-free grants of villages, or of groups of villages, or liable to a trifling nominal quit rent, which had been resumed by former zamindars, were now re-assigned in a manner to make the grants binding on her successors. The surplus revenue of the estate, which should have been saved to create a fund for meeting the annual peishcash due in all seasons was wasted on lavish presents to the temples, or permitted to be embezzled by the officials, at the head of whom was the minister Theyagarajah Pillai. Prior to her death, in 1812, the Nachear who had no son, adopted one Annasani Teven, a close relation of her husband Ranasani Teven, of Ithambadel. The Government would not at first accept the adoption; and one year passed, while the estate was left entirely in the hands of the minister. Finally, however, the Government gave in; and Annasani Teven became Muthu Vizia Regunatha Setupathi. He had only lived in Ramnad a short two years, when he was ousted by a decree of the Provincial Court at Trichinopoly, allotting the estate to one Sevakani Nachear the daughter of Muthuraialinga, 15th Setupathi, by his first wife Raja Rajeswari Nachear. From this time the whole energy of the family has spent itself upon contesting successions in the various courts. The estates, drained of its revenue to support the expense of unproductive litigation, has been continually in arrears, while each holder, feeling the precariousness of his tenure, has never attempted to reduce the growing debt. The history of Ramnad is to be traced henceforth in the law Courts and the Collectors' offices. Sevakani Nachear quite unable to pay the Government revenue, saw the newly won estate pass back under the Government confiscation. In 1829 Ranasani Teven, the adopted son of Annasani, recovered it under a decree of the Privy Council. His father, who had for 13 years been carrying his appeal through all the Courts, had died before this result was known. Ranasani only lived to enjoy it for one year; but before he died, he wrote a will appointing his adoptive mother Muthu Veerayee Nachear, guardian of his wife and two daughters, and his kinsman Mutuchella Taver, manager. The Government approved of the arrangement, but it did not last long; for no Maraver can restrain his hands from plunder; and it was only too easy to plunder helpless women. Numerous complaints were received from the palace. The villagers sent up repeated remonstrances to the Collector against the mismanagement of the estate. At last the Court of Wards interfered, and Mr. Blackburn, whose name is a household word among the agricultural population to this day, was sent down as the Collector. In 1846 the Government saw fit to recognize the right of Parvati Yardani Nachear the widow of Ranasani to manage the estate

and it was placed in her charge. Her first manager was Kottasani Teven, who was soon displaced in favor of Sivagnanen Teven, her sister's husband, whose second son she wished to adopt. The Government resisted her right to adopt; and some protracted and extensive litigation took place, in which Sivagnanen Teven's eldest son, who afterwards succeeded his father as manager, distinguished himself. At last Pannoosani Taven won the decision in the Privy Council; but not before he had enriched himself and half ruined the estate. His brother, who had succeeded by the death of his adoptive mother to the barren honors of a Setupathi in 1868, found the most prosperous villages of the estate deeply and ruinously mortgaged either to his brother, or to a gang of wealthy soucars, living at a town called Devicottah, north of Ramnad, who had supplied, or pretended to have supplied, the funds for this extensive litigation. When a village, or a set of villages had been mortgaged, it was purposely omitted to stipulate that the mortgagee should bear the proportionate amount due on account of the Government revenue due on the whole estate. In this way the enormous peiscash was saddled on the poor remainder; and between his own debts, the debts of his estate, and his expensive style of living, the unhappy zemindar did not know which way to turn. The soucars were fast closing upon him with proposals for a complete surrender of the old family estate, when the Government, taking a merciful view of the peculiar circumstances under which the Government had itself contested the zemindar's adoption, thereby involving him in this ruinous litigation, and also because they felt it incumbent upon them to arrest the complete obliteration of an old family, stepped in, and once more attached the estate. The zemindar thankfully accepted what was, considering his circumstances, a handsome allowance. His debts were scheduled and paid off; and finally a mortgage of the estate to Government was executed. This zemindar died in 1873, and will be succeeded, when he comes of age, by his son Bhaskarasani Teven, who does not take the loud sounding title of Setupathi until he is installed. He is at present reading under a tutor in Madras and is a promising boy.

We have thus traced the Marava family down to the present day. The gateway to the sacred shrine of Rameswaram must have an interest for every devout pilgrim. The student of old folklore will find an ample field of study in the traditions which envelop the building of the many graceful temples, which are sprinkled over the Maravar dominion, each one of which has its own fables, and the revenue officer will find a system of land tenure complicated in a manner which baffles description by multiplicities of standards of measurement, and provisions to enable the zemindar to get in his full share in the division of the crop.

J. L. W.

February 1882.

ART. IX.—MODERN RESEARCHES INTO THE ORIGIN AND EARLY PHASES OF CIVILISATION.

THE enquiry commenced in the last century by Montesquieu and Turgot, Voltaire and Hume, and other writers of note, regarding the progress of nations under the operation of physical and social causes, has been productive of the most brilliant results. The enquiry has been continued to our own time by writers like Guizot, Schlegel and Buckle, and has created a revolution in our knowledge of history. It is to these enquiries that we owe our knowledge of the fact that civilisation is a thing of gradual development, and was not born with man ; and that the development of civilisation is subject to the operation of influences, physical and social, the very existence of which was never suspected previous to the last century.

Of all the causes which have helped this important enquiry, the study and knowledge of barbarian life may be said to be the most important. It is among barbarians that we find the first feeble efforts against the powers of nature. It is in barbarian society that we see the germs, the first beginnings of those institutions,—government, religion, marriage, &c., which eventually become a part and parcel of civilised life. All that is obscure in civilised life is simplified, all that is overlaid with the forms and customs of centuries is divested of these accretions and is easily explained. As we look on barbarian life, we may almost imagine, with Addison's *Mirza*, that a thick veil is removed from our eyes, and we gaze with surprise on the first beginnings of *our* civilisation, on the manners and customs of *our* distant forefathers, of whom history tells us nothing. In that vision we at once see how the present is connected with the distant, and, but for this vision, unknown past, how all our great achievements in civilisation, our institutions and manners have slowly developed from small and slender beginnings. It seems, indeed, that a scene is suddenly removed, and what we previously considered to be the farthest end of the stage, now appears to us only the commencement of a long vista stretching far into long forgotten ages.

Nor is this only an empty metaphor. Previous to the 17th and 18th centuries, when we became first acquainted with the barbarian races and islanders all over the world, every effort to trace the source of human civilisation was feeble and fruitless. The past was a book sealed with seven seals, and the seals were never broken. Every effort of reason to trace the origin of human institutions was abortive, every attempt of imagination was a failure. Every nation, ancient and modern, civilised and uncivil-

lised, tried to pry into the secrets of the buried past, but the past would not give out its secrets. Shades of legislators, of demi-gods, of prophets and patriarchs were conjured up to account for institutions which were found to exist, but of which the origin could not be traced. One god or demi-god cleared the forest, another taught agriculture, and a third how to build. A serpent and a tree imparted knowledge and the use of clothing. It was to prevent the building of a temple that a variety of languages were created, and three brothers were the progenitors of three races. Such were the abortive efforts of the imagination to look into the past. The Greeks and the Romans, even in the palmiest days of their civilisation, could not solve this problem; they basked in the light of glorious civilisations, but they knew not how it arose. And so they, too, had recourse to imagination. Gods and goddesses were the parents of heroes and races, a wolf nursed the founder of Rome, an angel imparted knowledge to his successor. If we come from this to the middle ages, we are lost in a labyrinth of legends and stories. Imagination struggled and sank exhausted, but the rock of adamant which hid the past of humanity stood unmoved.

It was then, that in the 17th and 18th centuries we were made familiar with barbarians dwelling all over the world. The veil which hid the past was rent in a moment, the spell was removed, the rock of adamant vanished into thin air, and we at once recognised in the barbarians, the image of our past life. The problem which had thwarted the reason and baffled the imagination of preceding generations was solved at once, and the great truth that everywhere man has progressed from utter barbarism to different stages of civilisation, burst upon us. Conjectures, nearer and nearer to the truth, were formed by thinkers of different nations regarding the origin and progress of society and religion; mistakes about the "noble savage" were corrected by experience, proofs about the past of humanity were furnished by new sciences, geology and philology, until at the present moment there is scarcely an educated man who believes the human race to have been created civilised moral beings, a belief which the greatest philosophers of ancient times shared without doubt or hesitation.

Such, then, is the great lesson which a study of barbarian life has taught us, but this is not the only lesson that we have derived from it. Not only are we enabled to have a general idea as to how man has progressed from barbarism, but we see, too, how particular institutions and customs with which we have long been familiar, but of which the civilised world could not trace the origin, have been slowly developed. This is a new field of enquiry attended with the highest interest and promising the richest results, and numerous ingenious thinkers and acute reasoners have

directed their attention to this subject. Not to speak of foreign thinkers, in England alone, and in the present generation, Tylor and McLennan, Lubbock, Maine and Herbert Spenser, and a host of other writers have all written on this subject.

Such being the case, a review, however brief, of the rise of civilisation cannot commence better than with a rapid survey of barbarian life. Such a survey will indicate to us the existence of certain laws of nature and of society, whose influences on civilised life are manifest. We shall thus be enabled to see how the history of man, in his progress from barbarism to civilisation, is neither fortuitous nor dependant on chance, but is shaped and influenced by fixed laws of nature, no less than development or decay in the animal or vegetable kingdom.

If we commence our survey with the Esquimaux, we shall find that their state of life and civilisation is shaped by the circumstances under which they live. They live in a country in which the temperature is four months below zero, and often 40 or 50 degrees below zero. The ground is covered with ice, crops are out of the question, and there is but little or no vegetation. The people are a quiet, patient, simple race.

In the absence of wood, and where the making of bricks is impossible, the Esquimaux build their dwellings of snow of a dome-like shape, and creep into or out of them through low passages. Food must necessarily consist of meat only, both on account of the extreme cold and the absence of vegetables or grains, and to hunt the seal is the chief occupation of the Esquimaux's life. His patience in this respect is unsurpassed, and he will wait sometimes for a couple of days without food or sleep, watching for a seal. Beside seals, walrus, bears, and other animals are also hunted. The fat of animals is of peculiar value in this cold climate. Canoes and sledges, drawn by teams of dogs, are the only means of conveyance, and the Esquimaux learn the management of both from an early age.

In a climate so cold, the feelings are subdued, imagination is restrained, the mind is slow, and Esquimaux life is necessarily quiet. The marriage ceremony is very simple: the husband and wife simply going to live in a separate "ingloo" or snow-hut; funeral ceremonies are few and unimportant, and of religion itself the people have very little. They have vague notions of a male deity and a female deity, who specially protect the Esquimaux race; and they have "medicine men" among them.

While the physical conditions of the Esquimaux land have on the one hand, restrained their civilisation and made seal hunting, sledge driving, and ingloo building the quiet and almost only occupations of this slow and patient race, the limited development of their imagination and feelings

have, on the other hand, made their life equally quiet and devoid of those violent institutions and stirring ceremonies which are seen in the tropics, and are but the outward manifestations of highly developed feelings. The Esquimaux household, the husband and wife and children with plenty of fur clothing and stocks of bladder and fat, living in the snow "ingloo," under the eternal lamp, and leading a quiet, contented, hospitable life, has been often admired by civilised visitors; and this quiet household is the true picture of a civilisation as limited and quiet, determined by the physical conditions of the country and their influences on the human mind.

We pass southwards to the barbarians of the temperate zone,—the North America Indians, and a totally different picture is presented to us. Need we draw that picture, so often and so ably drawn by Cooper and Irving and Marryat, and a host of other popular writers? Briefly, the Americans are divided into tribes, each tribe having its bold chief, its number of villages and its hunting grounds, primæval forests, or "rolling prairies," separated from those of the neighbouring tribes, so that no tribe will hunt in the lands of its neighbour. War between tribes is frequent and almost interminable, hunting the buffaloe or "mustang" is the pastime and passion of these brave people, and activity is the very soul of their life. A rude sort of agriculture is left to the "squaws" (women), chiefs and warriors delight in bold enterprises and frequent wars, and display a heroic endurance under the greatest hardships, and even under the most excruciating tortures, such as is seen nowhere else on the face of the earth. Independence and vigour are the characteristics of the people of the temperate zone, and in their national assemblies, the chief listens to the opinions of the meanest warrior with deference, and rules rather by persuasion than by authority. Despotism does not exist.

Living under a warmer sun than the Esquimaux, the American Indians have a more vigorous imagination and more developed feelings. Accordingly religion has acquired a higher importance, and ceremonies, both religious and social, have a more imposing appearance. The Americans believe in a "Manitou" or Great Spirit, who is the giver of all that is valuable,—the tobacco, the buffaloe and the Indian corn,—and who has preserved for brave warriors happy hunting grounds stocked with an inexhaustible supply of game in the future world. They also believe in lesser spirits, mostly of a malicious character, who cause diseases and accidents, and there are "medicine men" who pretend to cure diseases and drive away evil spirits. Some of the social ceremonies have an imposing appearance, and the ceremony of "initiation" among some races, at least, is perfectly horrible. The

young man has to suffer without a groan the most excruciating tortures that human imagination can invent before he is reckoned a warrior.

We pass over the belt of the tropics, the belt of civilisation. Several times has civilisation flourished in America, in past times, and so uniform is the operation of the laws of history, that as Mr. Buckle remarks, every time it has flourished within the tropics, penetrating neither to the north nor to the south. We know of the civilisation of Mexico and the civilization of Peru, but there are ruins of extensive edifices belonging to a yet another civilization, and of which all accounts and all other traces are lost. That civilisation flourished, too, in the warm zone. But civilised or uncivilised, the tropical regions of America are marked by certain peculiar features which belong to all tropical countries and races. Exertion is subdued, the activity of the American Indians disappears, lassitude and languor replace toil and hunting. Imagination is highly developed, feelings rise to an abnormal extent, veneration grows into slavery and superstition, and the power of kings, both in Mexico and in Peru, has been absolute, the importance and grandeur of religion and superstition awful. The histories of Mexico and Peru are familiar to all our readers, we find in them the same peculiarities that mark the history of tropical countries elsewhere. Absolute domination of kings, languid, slavish submission of the people, grandeur of religious ceremonies and social rites meet us at every step. At the present time there is a civilised government in Mexico and one in Peru; and yet why do they not flourish like the United States of America? Because the activity, the exertion which belongs to a temperate climate, and is the soul of modern civilisation, is wanting in tropical Mexico and Peru.

Between 30 and 50 degrees of the north latitude we found the Americans, active, warlike, given to riding, hunting and the most active pursuits of life. Between 30 and 50 degrees south latitude, we are surprised to find almost a reproduction of the American Indians. The Araconians, the stalwart Patagonians, and the people of the Gran Chaco are, like the North American Indians, divided into tribes, warring with each other and excessively given to the active pursuits of the chase, capturing game with their unerring and irresistible "lasso." With a bravery truly surprising, they fought and maintained their independence against the European colonists with their superior weapons and modes of warfare. Though vanquished again and again by the superior arms of the Spaniards, the Araconians were never conquered, and, indeed, won their liberty from the Spaniards by sheer bravery. In the eloquent words of Captain Reid, the European colonist "dares not even set his foot upon the Chaco. For a thousand

miles up and down, the two races, European and American, hold the opposite banks of the great stream (Paraguay). They gaze across at each other, the one from the portico of his well built mansion, or perhaps from the street of his town,—the other standing by his humble “toldo,” or mat covered tent, more probably on the back of his half-wild horse reined up for a moment on some projecting promontory that commands a view of the river. And thus these two races have gazed at each other for three centuries with little other intercourse passing between them than that of deadly hostility.” Might we not, in almost the same language, describe the relative position of the Romans and the Germans after the time of Cæsar, substituting the Danube and the Rhine for the Paraguay? Yes, because the Germans also lived about 50 degrees north latitude, and were necessarily warlike and given to hunting, leaving a rude sort of agriculture to *their* “squaws,” and delighting in active warlike pursuits themselves. A similarity in causes led to a similarity in results, and, in spite of vast distance in space and time, in nationality, habits, customs and language, there are resemblances in the broad outlines which physical laws produced, and which cannot be mistaken.

Terra del Fuego though separated from Paraguay by a narrow strait has natural features widely different. The whole country is covered with snow-covered mountains or masses of rocks, with deep ravines here and there intersecting the hills; vegetable and animal life is poor and feeble, and the cold is excessive. Like the Esquimaux, therefore, the people of Terra del Fuego live in an exceedingly inclement climate, and, here again, many of the marked peculiarities of Esquimaux life re-appear. Far less sociable, far more repulsive than the Esquimaux, the Feugians have the same stunted growth, the same slow habits and pursuits, and live equally with them on animal food alone, and draw their supplies from the sea. The seal, the sea-otter, fishes and molluscs are their food, and to catch these is their chief occupation. The activity and bustle of life in temperate zones again disappear, and, as among the Esquimaux, we find human life and human exertions deadened by the extreme cold and the inclement conditions of physical nature. Man does not lord it over Nature as among the American Indians, or the Patagonians and Araconians in South America; he does not range the hills and vales on horse back, delighting in exertion and toil. No; as in Esquimaux land, he seems cowed down by the inclemencies of physical nature, he quietly paddles his canoe, manages his dogs, catches fish for his support, and seems to be suffered to live as best he may. Feelings are deadened no less than exertions and toil; unlike the Patagonians the Feugians have few imposing social ceremonies among them; their imagination is dull, they

have scarcely any notions of religion beside believing in conjuring ; and even conjurors do not inspire the same reverence and fear as in the tropics. The vegetable and animal life in Terra del Fuego is feeble and almost near its extinction ;—man, too, is permitted to live, but with the minimum of all that constitutes human life.

We now turn to those green tropical islands which fringe the entire extent of the Pacific Ocean, the Fiji Islands, Tonga or Friendly Islands, Samoa or Navigator's Islands, Tahiti or Society Islands, the Solomon and New Hebrides Islands, the Harvey and Kingsmill Islands, the Sandwich Islands, the Caroline Archipelago, and many others of smaller note. The inhabitants of all these islands have not all attained the same degree of civilisation, but there is yet a general resemblance in their manners and customs and even civilisation, which makes it possible to speak of them together.* All these islands are within the tropical zone and possess fertile soil, and the barbarians of these islands are remarkably polished among all the barbarians of the world. They have a regular social organisation, the Figians, specially, have a most elaborate code of etiquette among themselves. They have also political organisations and divisions of people into ranks, all living under and respecting their chiefs. They have developed among themselves mild religions with beautiful legends like those of Greece or India. They till the soil and grow corn, they build good houses and villages and canoes, they manufacture different sorts of cloth, mats and pottery, have domestic animals, and display a fine artistic taste in their buildings and paintings. A mild climate enables them to dispense with the use of superfluous clothing ; their women receive a tolerably fair treatment, and their domestic life is quiet and happy. Altogether, a Tongan home or plantation, or a Figian court with its elaborate code of etiquette and ceremonies, presents pleasing spectacles which would almost be mistaken for those of civilised life. And yet civilised they are not. They possess many, but not all the physical conditions of civilization. The sea on all sides has improved their art of navigation ; a fertile soil fosters agriculture, and a warm climate enables them to subsist on its produce, and dispense with the necessity of a regular supply of animal food. The same warm climate has developed their feelings and imagination, increased their ceremonies and pastimes, and enabled them to conjure up beautiful legends and religions. Still, one essential condition of civilisation was wanting. A large extent of land, which makes an elaborate division of labour possible, was wanting to the Polynesian islands. That elaborate division of labour,

* We speak of them as they were by Europeans, before they were visited and civilised

therefore, and interchange between the fruits of manufacture and agriculture, which stimulated early civilisation in Egypt or India, was impossible in Fiji or Tonga. A portion of the people could not be entirely devoted to pottery, nor another portion to cloth manufacture, nor another to canoe building, nor another to the cultivation of letters. On the contrary, Fijian warriors build their own canoes and huts, and their women weave mats and cloths. No extensive division of labor was possible; industries and manufactures, therefore, could not improve rapidly; the use of alphabets, which is essentially a requirement, and an invention of towns, is unknown; and the Polynesian Islanders, therefore, stand before us as a singular example of an imperfect civilisation, such as may be achieved through favourable natural conditions, but without an extensive division of labour. As one surveys their state of civilisation, it seems as if they had made a fair start in agriculture, in manufacture, in government, in religion, and in social ceremonies and observances; and there they stopped:—incapable of further improvement or progress; for the great engine of improvement, an elaborate division of labour, was wanting.

We have often tried to imagine what a fertile and tropical country like Bengal or Northern India, for instance, had been like, if cut into bits and scattered in the ocean somewhere within the torrid zone. The first result of such a state of things would be the impossibility of towns and cities. In large agricultural countries, market-places grow up here and there for the convenience of exchange between the different products of different trades, industry and agriculture; and when the exchange and transactions are very great, such places rise to the importance of towns. It follows, then, that where the whole extent of land is limited, and division of labour necessarily limited, the exchange business cannot be very great, and markets will never rise to the dignity of towns. When each manufactures all or nearly all the things he is in need of, there cannot be professional manufacturers. Large manufactories cannot exist, shops, which are but seats of exchange cannot be numerous, and a town, which is but another name for a collection of shops and manufactories cannot exist. The first result, then, of the supposition we have made would be an absence of towns.

Imagine, then, Bengal villages scattered as islands in the midst of an ocean, each island containing twenty, fifty, or a hundred villages. We must now eliminate all that Bengal villages have imbibed from towns,—the use of alphabets and a highly refined literature, improved tools and weapons, and arts and manufactures, the products of towns. On the other hand, being in the sea, the people would be expert navigators and build

strong canoes ; while in the absence of a centralised Government, the village *mandals*, or headmen, would rise to the dignity of chiefs. Thus, then, we would have a group of islands, inhabited by a race of people living on agriculture, expert in the use of canoes, conjuring up, as they still do, beautiful legends and mild religions among themselves, observing social distinctions and strict and elaborate rules of etiquette, and manufacturing some rude sorts of pottery and cloth, and mats, and other articles still made in Bengal villages. On the other hand, they would be without the use of a written language, without towns, without any manufactures except of the ruder sort, and grouping themselves round their chiefs, in the absence of a highly organised Government. As it is, Bengal villagers go with scanty clothing, and even in that their ideas of decency are borrowed from towns ; without that influence, it is possible the people would go in an almost naked state. In one word, suppose a tropical civilised country placed from the earliest times under the physical conditions of the Polynesian islands, and without the possibility of any elaborate division of labour, and the people of that civilised country would, in every respect, resemble those islanders. Reverse the process : imagine the Polynesian islands grouped together into a large country like India or Egypt, with rivers overflowing and fertilizing their banks, and you have division of labour, towns, the civilisation of India or Egypt. So entirely dependant is the civilisation of nations on external circumstances.

But we must hasten to the islands of the Eastern Hemisphere. Australia is situated between 15° and 35° south latitude, and has therefore a warm climate, like India, which is situated within the same degrees of the north latitude ; but unlike India, Australia has no large navigable rivers like the Indus or the Ganges. The soil is therefore not very fertile, and there are few plants yielding food or clothing. Unlike, therefore, what took place in India, in Australia, the people have never taken to agriculture, but depend for food on any thing and every thing that comes in their way, marsupial quadrupeds, snakes, ants, vermin, fish, herbs, roots and seeds. Extensive forests, such as occur in North America, do not grow in Australia ; the people, too, have not the vigour which belongs to a temperate zone ; and in place, therefore, of a race delighting in activity and hunting in prairies and forests, we have a miserable race of barbarians languid and yet restless, living on the most precarious means of existence, always at war with neighbouring tribes, and with all the misery, vice and degradation of the lowest barbarism, unrelieved by any noble qualities. Indeed, a state of barbarism more wretched than that of the Australian tribes of the interior, can scarcely be imagined. Without navigable rivers or fertile soil, which must accompany a warm climate

to ensure early civilisation, without a possibility of intercourse with more civilised races, without a temperate climate which inspires vigour and activity into nations, the Australians have lived under nearly all the accumulating circumstances unfavorable to civilisation. They are divided into small tribes, always at war with each other, and bloodshed and cruelty and stealing of women are frequent occurrences of Australian life. In other respects, they are inactive and languid, make their women work hard for them, and then treat them most mercilessly, and often spear them to death without any more compunction than is felt after destroying a property of some value. Stealing women is an act of merit, and often the same woman is stolen several times and carried far and farther from her first home, each time only to serve a more or less brutal and merciless husband and master. They live, as remarked before, on any thing that comes in their way, and make their women work to bring them food, and when food is so obtained, the Australian husband will gorge himself, perhaps throwing a bone at his hungry and starving wives if he is in good humour. When, it is added, that tribes often rove from place to place, and that perpetual war and insecurity of life and property prevail in the country, some idea may be formed of the dismal wretchedness of Australian life and civilisation. The people either go perfectly naked, or with some sort of mat or clothing wrapped round them as an ornament or shelter from inclement weather, but without any idea of decency whatever. The religion of the Australians resembles the state of their civilisation and life, and consists in a belief in a vast number of malicious beings swarming the earth and the skies, and intent on doing mischief to man.

We pass over to other islands, which, like the Polynesian islands possess to a greater or smaller extent, the facility of communication and interchange of commodities by sea, a facility denied to the Australians whose country is one vast island separated from others and without creeks or gulfs or an indented coast. Unlike the Australians, therefore, most islanders like the Fijians and Tongans in Polynesia, navigate the seas and build good seagoing canoes. The great advantages of a favorable configuration of land and navigable sea coast are nowhere better illustrated than by the difference between the civilisation of smaller groups of islands, either in Polynesia or the Asiatic archipelagoes, and the civilisation of Australia, which is one vast island without any possibility of profitable navigation. The New Zealanders are far more civilised than the Australians, and grow corn and build very tasteful huts and buildings, while the Dyaks of Borneo may almost be called a polished race. Their polish, however, has to a certain extent been borrowed from the civilised Hindus, as is proved by a resemblance in many of their rites and ceremonies. Still, gener-

ally, we find in the groups of smaller islands in the Eastern hemisphere, the same polish and refinement among races, whom we must still call barbarians, as we observed among the barbarians of Polynesia. A similarity in causes has resulted in a similarity in consequences.

Nearly the entire continent of Africa has a tropical climate, and throughout this vast extent of land, we detect the influence of such climate on institutions and manners. Nowhere do we find that activity, that delight in exertion, which characterises the North American Indians; nowhere do we find the freedom of their institutions, the respect and deference to the rights of each individual man. On the contrary, wherever the barbarian races of Africa have organised a Kingly form of government, there, sure enough, are the people enslaved and the monarchs supreme. Within the circumscribed limit of their territories, the African kings are the worst vices of the most powerful of oriental despots,—the Caliphs of Bagdad, or the Sultans of Samarkand. To massacre their queens on the slightest provocation; to kill their subjects for the breach of the most frivolous customs; to reign with a rod of iron over slavish and trembling peoples are phenomena frequently witnessed in the courts of the barbarian kings of Africa. Human life, except of the king, is of no value, a rifle presented to a King of Waganda was loaded and let off by order of the King for mere trial, and there was no more concern expressed about the death of the man who was made the target than if he was a sparrow. The same monarch had a whip for lashing his wives, and often caused them to be killed on the slightest provocation. In Dahome the coronation of kings is celebrated by human sacrifices, and the people run away and hide themselves when they see the very water-carriers of the King, for if ever one of the water pots should happen to be broken, the nearest man would be sold into slavery with wife and children on the pretext of having frightened the water-carrier. It is needless to multiply instances, but nowhere are the terrors of absolute monarchy severer than in Central Africa, in the regions near the Equator.

We find the same excess of slavish veneration with regard to religion. Whether it assumes the form of idolatry or of mere forms and ceremonies and fear of prophets and prophetesses, religion in Africa has a more imposing aspect, and inspires far greater dread than in temperate and cold climates. In one instance, Africa developed a civilisation of her own, and the civilisation of Egypt was stamped with the same characteristic features as the barbarism of other parts of Africa, *viz.*, want of vigour and exertion in the people, want of national freedom, absolute monarchy in its worst features, the overwhelming influence and power of

religion and religious classes. The pyramids of Egypt are an awful monument of the absolute power of kings over dumb millions, such as has been reproduced nowhere else on the face of the earth.

Thus we have passed in brief review the customs and religions and states of society of some of the best known barbarian races in America, Africa, and the Pacific Islands. We have not stopped to examine the civilisation of each particular race, nor could we, if we had done so, have explained all their institutions and customs. Our knowledge of physical influences on the human mind and human civilisation is yet too limited and uncertain, while we do not by any means know the antecedents of each particular race. From both these causes, we are unable to deduce the customs and manners of each particular race from physical laws and influences. And yet, taking a general view of barbarian life, we have been struck with the uniformity which has everywhere presented itself in the operation of external influences. Everywhere, in extreme cold regions, we have witnessed a stunted development of the feelings as well as of the will, the former leading to absence of well-developed religious or ceremonious customs, and the latter to absence of exertion and toil. Everywhere in temperate zones we have seen a high development of the will, *i.e.*, of exertions and toil, and a tolerable development of feelings. And lastly, in the torrid zone, feelings and imagination run to excesses, and religion and social ceremonies, therefore, acquire abnormal developments, while exertion gives place to languor and lassitude, and nations are slaves of religion or loyalty. We shall expect to find in the annals of civilised life these same results following from similar causes.

Turning from the history of barbarian life to that of the first rise of civilisation among mankind, we shall find that agriculture was the first and most important civilising agent, and fertility of soil is therefore the physical cause which had the earliest and most extensive influence on the progress and destiny of man. Agriculture in its rude forms is known to many barbarian races; to the American Indians, for instance, or to the ancient Germans whose principal occupation, however, was hunting. Such being the case, it is natural to suppose that where the land is fertile, and bounteously repays the toil of man, recourse would be more and more had to agriculture, and less and less to hunting which brings comparatively poor results. The most careless and rude sort of cultivation, such as is alone known to barbarian races, would afford richer results than hunting in the plains inundated by the Ganges or the Nile, and poorer results in the wilds of ancient Germany or modern Australia; and it is natural to sup-

pose that the barbarians by the Ganges and the Nile would sooner exchange hunting for agriculture than the barbarians of Germany or Australia.

Thus, then, it was in the most fertile soils that agriculture prevailed most extensively. There is one main difference between agriculture and hunting; the latter can at most supply the hunter and his family with sufficient food, and even this is often denied; the former increases the stock many times in fertile soils, and thus supplies the agriculturist with a larger quantity of food than he can require for himself and his family. The food of the whole tribe, or nation, is easily produced by a portion of the tribe, and the remaining portion therefore find time to devote themselves exclusively to other occupations, to hut-building which rises to architecture, to making pots and utensils which slowly developes into arts and sculpture, or even to singing and thinking which slowly improve into literature and science.

Here, then, is the great superiority of agriculture over hunting as a civilizing agent. Agriculture affords facilities for that great agent of human progress, *viz.*, division of labour. Among hunting races, each man must hunt to provide himself and family with food; his friends have nothing to spare for him, even in return for superior arrows which he can manufacture, or finer huts which he can build. True, we find among hunting races professional men as arrow makers, medicine men, bards, &c., but how few their number! The mass of the people must necessarily devote themselves to hunting, a few only can be spared at the expense of the nation to keep up a rude legendary literature, or manufacture some rude articles. That great division of labour which is possible in agricultural countries, and which sets apart almost half the population to cultivate arts, manufactures and literature is impossible among nations who live by hunting. Among such tribes, on the contrary, each warrior is often found to build his own hut, make his own canoe, manufacture his own Bumerang or Merai or Tomahawk, as well as to hunt and fish for the support of himself and his family.

There is yet another means by which agriculture helps division of labor. Tribes which live by hunting require large forests and wilds for the support of a few families. Every small village must necessarily be surrounded by extensive wilds, or the supply of game will soon be exhausted, and every small tribe has extensive territories assigned to it. Not so with agricultural tribes. With them the supply of a square mile will feed the inhabitants of an extensive village; and as the population of every country is determined by its food-supply, agricultural countries soon increase in population, and are studded with villages situated almost side by side; while each village among hunting

tribes is necessarily isolated from the rest. Thus, villages in agricultural countries, help villages, the manufactures of one village are exchanged with those of another, and the vast increase of population foster a proportionate increase in division of labor.

It is scarcely necessary to show how division of labor serves the cause of civilisation. The hunter who makes his hut, and his boat, and his arrows scarcely ever improves as a manufacturer, while his wife still sticks to the rude sort of cultivation, or pottery, which falls to her share. But potters who devote their whole lifetime to their profession only pursuing the vocation from generation to generation will, we shall not say, necessarily improve (for the stationary state, and not improvement is the normal state of society), but will have a much better chance of improving and perfecting their art, and advancing with each period of advancement and expansion of the human mind. Fishermen, too, who devote their lifetime to boat-making and rowing, will have in the same way a greater chance to improve boat-making and the art of navigation generally. As this art improves, the most distant parts of the countries are connected with each other, distant places exchange their commodities, and a further means is afforded for the development of division of labor. Thus, every art is improved and perfected till it becomes impossible for the members of one profession to do the work of another without a long initiation. Markets for the exchange of commodities multiply and increase in importance till they rise to the dignity of towns, means for the exchange of commodities gradually assume the shape of coinage, while the various industries and exigencies of society require and cause an improvement in the system of government of laws and of administration.

All this is not achieved in a day. We must distinctly bear in mind that the normal state of society is stationary, it is only in periods of revolution in thought, and under strong impulses and vigorous causes that progress is possible. But when such periods come, the countries, where division of labor is possible have a greater chance of improvement than others where that institution is not possible in any marked degree. Other things being equal, therefore, those nations among whom agriculture has freed a large portion of the people from the task of producing food will sooner improve the arts and conveniences of life.

The most ingenious portion of the people so freed will devote themselves to enquiries into the operations of nature, which so greatly strike the imagination of all nations, barbarous as well as civilised. Where there is plenty of time, where such enquiries occupy the lifetime of individuals, and are carried on from generation to generation, there is greater chance of success, other things being equal, than where there is no time, and every member of

society is necessarily a warrior, a hunter, a fisherman, and a thinker. Agricultural nations must, therefore, obtain the first faint glimpses of knowledge into the operations of nature, of science, of learning, of civilization.

It is thus, we believe, that fertility of soil develops agriculture by bounteously repaying the toil of man; that agriculture develops division of labor by freeing a large portion of the population from the task of producing food, and that division of labor improves every department of industry and develops civilization.

We next turn to climatic influences which had almost an equal share in determining the early progress of man. Men in cold climates are often found possessed of a dullness of perception as well as of sensibilities, of the intellect as well as of feelings which even the degenerate Greeks of the time of the Crusaders so often remarked and ridiculed in the Frank knights, which the French still ridicule in the Germans, and the Germans ridicule in the Muscovite. But we pass by this fact, partly because we do not know how far a warm climate is the direct cause of acuteness of perception, and secondly, what share this acuteness had in securing for man an early civilization. A greater advance in the physical sciences will probably throw more light on the influence of heat on the human mind; as yet we know but little on the subject. The climatic influence that we shall refer to is of a more definite and indisputable nature, and of a negative rather than of a positive character. We have no precise knowledge as to the extent in which a warm climate helps civilisation, but we distinctly see how, and to what extent a cold climate retards civilisation. For men in cold climates must needs consume animal food, *i.e.*, highly carbonaceous food to keep off the cold, and the hunting life, therefore, is prolonged with them, although the land may be ever so fertile. The wilds of North America, for instance, watered by the Mississippi and her numerous tributaries contained very fertile lands, and were overgrown with interminable forests, but man naturally turned to animal food as more congenial in that cold climate, and bestowed little attention to the production of vegetable food, and fertility of soil was given to him in vain. Hunting was the duty, the pastime, the glory of the North American Indians; life afforded no nobler occupation to him; hope itself could paint for him no happier scenes in the future world than happy hunting grounds and forests stocked with game. A narrow line separated the civilized Mexicans from the savage North American Indians; the land in the one country was nearly as fertile as in the other; yet civilization could never travel beyond that narrow line, because the Indians living in a cold climate must needs have animal food, must necessarily pursue

the life of hunters ; and neither agriculture nor the division of labor was possible. For the early development of agriculture, therefore, is required not only fertility of soil to induce man to sow and to reap, but also a warm climate to enable him to live almost entirely on the products of agriculture.

There is yet a third necessary condition to early civilization, *vis.*, the position and extent of a country. It is well known that a country with an extensive sea-coast, with fine harbours and contiguous islands progresses early in navigation, and therefore in division of labor. Navigable rivers serve the same purpose ; but what is yet more important is that the country should be of a fairly large extent in order to make such division possible. For in vain will fertility of the soil and warmth of climate be bestowed in places which are too narrow and limited in area to render division of labor possible in any extensive scale. That interchange between the fruits of rural industry and those of town industry, or between the industries of numerous and distant villages connected together by long roads or rivers is impossible in small islands, in which all the people are necessarily grouped together within a limited area, and necessarily follow almost the same profession, and diversity in industries, or division of labor is impracticable. That brotherly help, too, that mutual assistance rendered by nations to one another, which is one of the most efficacious causes of civilization, is denied to isolated islands. The entire extent of the Pacific Ocean, as we have seen before, is fringed with groups of islands, mostly situated in the torrid zone and covered with green velvet verdure, but division of labor was found impossible in any extensive scale in places so limited in area, and man has never progressed beyond a certain very low limit in the scale of civilization.

Thus we have seen that the first great agent of human civilization is Division of Labor ; and the primary natural causes necessary for the due development of such division are fertility of soil, warmth of climate and favorable position and extent of land. It is where these natural conditions are combined and found to exist in a marked degree that we must expect to find the first and earliest homes of human civilization.

And such has been the early history of the world. It was in extensive tropical countries, where large rivers not only facilitate navigation and division of labor, but annually inundate the surrounding land, and leave a deposit of the most fertile alluvial clay, where the heat co-operating with excess of moisture makes the land superabundantly fertile, that man learnt his earliest lessons in civilization. It was on the banks of the Indus and the Ganges, the Hoangho and the Yangtsekiang, the Euphrates and the Tigris, and in the valley of the Nile that civilization in

the sense in which we understand the term, first began. History or tradition narrates how the civilization of Assyria and Egypt travelled to Persia on the one side, and to Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome on the other, but in the four places indicated above, in China, India, Assyria and Egypt, civilization arose from internal causes, and was not borrowed from foreign nations. Rivers as large as the Ganges or the Nile water the wilds of Siberia, a warmer sun shines on the extensive deserts of Sahara or Arabia, but it was only where all the necessary conditions were found combined that early civilisation found a resting place and a natural home.

Gradually the light radiated, but only to countries fitted for its reception, *viz.*, to countries which shared the same advantages (fertile soil, warm climate, and favorable position and extent), though not to the same extent as India, China, Egypt or Assyria, Persia, Asia Minor, Greece, Rome, gradually rose into life and consciousness, as it were, under the genial influence; while countries, where the natural conditions were unfavorable, were passed over. So completely was early civilization dependant on natural causes, that Cabul, situated between India and Persia, and Arabia bounded on three sides by Persia, Assyria and Egypt failed to catch the light which radiated even to the distant soil of Italy, and was reflected to the far off shores of Southern France and Eastern Spain.

Indeed, to be convinced, that easily civilisation depended entirely on natural influences, we have only to spread the chart of the world before us. In Asia, all the fertile and well watered countries within the tropics, and even within ten or twelve degrees from the north tropical line were early civilised. Europe is removed from the tropics and was late in acquiring civilization, and yet even in Europe the southernmost countries on the shores of the Mediterranean were early civilized. Then came the turn of the western shores and islands which are warmer than places in the interior in the same latitude, and the cold forests of Germany and Russia were the last in acquiring civilisation. In Africa, which lies entirely in the tropics or within 15 degrees of the tropical limits, the only well watered and fertile portion, the banks of the Nile were early civilized, while in that vast peninsula, or island, stretches from the northern icy ocean almost to the southern Mexico, Central America and Peru the only regions which acquired early civilization are in the tropics. Few countries, blessed with a warm climate and fertile soil, failed to acquire an early civilisation, while there is not one single instance of a cold or a barren country acquiring or even borrowing that civilisation which so early diffused its light on all favored regions.

Still further evidence is available to prove this uniformity, this

rigorous regularity in the operation of historical laws. Long after the times of which we are speaking, the Arabs who conquered Persia, Assyria, Egypt and Spain, revived the ancient civilization in these countries to a remarkable extent, but Arabia herself failed to catch this light, because the natural conditions in Arabia were unfavorable to its reception; and Abdarrahman in Spain, and Haroun Arrashid in Bagdad were contemporaneous with the grossest ignorance, and deadly feuds and uncivilized life among the Bedouins of Arabia, the home of the conquerors. Similarly Tarter races conquered India and China, and revived in those countries the light of civilisation; but so unfavorable were the natural conditions in Tartary itself, that the light could never penetrate beyond the Himalayas or the western boundary of China, or lighten the gloom of semi-barbarism in which the Scythians have always lived from ancient times. Philology tells us that in remote age the same Aryan nation migrated somewhere from Central Asia, and conquered and peopled India, Persia, and nearly the whole of Europe. The nation was the same, the genius, the bent, the powers of the people the same, the virtues and the defects of the Aryan conquerors were the same, but how different the results achieved by them in different countries! In the warm and fertile plains of India they acquired the highest form of civilization that was anywhere seen before the rise of the Greeks, while in the vast forests of Germany they remained sunk in almost primeval barbarism till almost modern times. But we must return to our main story of the first spread of civilization in ancient times.

Time rolled on, and the light which had spread from India and Egypt and Assyria to Greece and Rome spread further. The conquests of Rome were the conquests of civilization. The light radiated again from the banks of the Tiber as it had done ere, while from those of the Nile and the Ganges, but again, only to countries fitted for its reception, *viz.*, to countries which shared the same advantages, though not to the same extent as Italy itself. Spain, Gaul and South Britain were warmed into life by the general influence, while countries, where the natural conditions were unfavorable, were again passed over! The cold forests of ancient Germany (much colder than South Britain, though in the same latitude) were impervious alike to the conquests and civilization of Rome, and the bleak hills and lakes of Scotland remained shrouded in primeval mists, not because Roman forces quailed before those northern barbarians, but because Roman civilization could not find in so cold a climate a resting place and a home. The singular uniformity in the operation of historical laws strikes us again.

And now was seen one of the most astounding phenomenon that the history of man can present us with. The nations of the temperate zone who had come in contact with tropical civilisation and

had adopted it, were found to possess a quality which the tropical nations did not possess, *viz.*, a greater vigour and force of the will, a higher development of energies and strength. With these qualifications they improved the lessons which they had learnt from the tropics; they made up for want of fertile soil by strenuous exertions and feats of industry, and the consequence is, that in the present day the temperate zone has developed a higher and sturdier civilization than was ever known in the tropics. And now the light once more radiates from Western Europe all over the world, but only to countries placed in similar favorable circumstances, *viz.*, tolerably fertile soil and a *temperate* climate. The temperate United States are preferred to the tropical Mexico, Peru, and Central America. The south of Australia is preferred to north, while the icy Siberia or North America are impervious to the light of European civilisation which spreads only to temperate climates. Asia has no temperate climate. The configuration of the Continent is such, that as soon as we pass the tropical climate, we come to the cold. The regions to the North of Himalayas are high and cold, Tartary is cold; and as soon as we pass the deserts of Kobi, in Central Asia, we come to the icy Siberia. Africa, too, has scarcely any temperate climate, and so entirely dependant is history on the operation of natural laws, that Asia and Africa have failed to catch the advanced civilization of the present day, which has spread to the distant shores of Australia and America.

Thus a superior energy and more vigorous efforts, in every department of human thought and action, in politics, in scientific discoveries, in the practical arts of life, in navigation and commerce, in the arts of war, as well as of peace, mark the modern civilization of the temperate zone,—a civilisation which is nowhere reproduced in tropical regions, because the energy, the capability of action is wanting.

The sympathy, help, example and influence of the rest of Europe have in vain been lavished on Greece and Spain; and Italy, too, though she has fared better than these countries (because situated in a more northern latitude) has not regained her former importance, nor will ever equal England or France or Germany in power or greatness, because the energy which belongs to a cold climate is wanting. In Asia the Japanese alone enjoy a tolerably temperate climate, and without a past, without an ancient civilization, they are the foremost of Asiatic nations in progress and civilization.

Thus we have traced the operation of the prominent physical laws which have influenced the progress of civilization in ancient as well as in modern times, in tropical and temperate zones. And if we pursued the subject further, we would find that the two civilizations which we now see side by side are still governed by

the same physical laws which marked their first commencement. In the social life and manners no less than in the literature and religion of civilized nations of the tropics, we would note the same ardent imagination, the same development of feelings and emotions, the same keen susceptibility to pleasures and pains which ever mark the tropics. There affection grows to feminine weakness, love to an appetite and veneration to a superstition. The great religions of the world,—Hinduism, Buddhism, Mahomedanism and Christianity have originated in warm climates, while even in Europe religion and religious rites (as well as poetry, sculpture, painting, and all other efforts of the imagination and emotions) assume their grandest forms in the south. Grief is intenser and more demonstrative, the thirst for pleasure is keener, polygamy with all its inconveniences still lingers in the tropics, while restraints in the social intercourse between the sexes are judged more necessary in the tropics than in the temperate zone, and more necessary in the Southern countries even in Europe than in the Northern. On the other hand, we would not note in the civilization of the temperate zone the same vigour and energy, the same power of the will and of action that marked its commencement. The same laws govern and shape the destiny of man in barbarous and in civilized societies, and mould the tropical civilization as well as that of the temperate zone; and even in the midst of the tumult of civilised life and the clash of civilised wars and diplomacies and national endeavours, the silent operation of those laws is as uniform and uninterrupted as it was in simpler and more archaic forms of society. We have seen that in obedience to these eternal laws, civilization, in the sense in which we understand the term, first dawned on the banks of the Ganges and the Indus, the Hoangho and the Nile; that it was under their operation that it spread to certain countries, and not to others from these four earliest favored spots; and lastly, that under their influence it has, in the present day, received in the temperate zone a development, beyond even the conception of the imaginative tropical nations,—beyond even the dreams of the Arabian Nights!

R. C. DUTT.

ART. X.—A RESUME OF THE VARIOUS THEORIES RESPECTING THE MAINTENANCE OF THE SUN'S LIGHT AND HEAT.

DOCTOR SIEMENS has just promulgated, before the March meeting of the Royal Society, a new theory regarding the maintenance of the sun's light and heat, which is certain, to modify, if it does not entirely revolutionize, modern scientific doctrine upon this subject. The quantity of heat, which is annually radiated into space from our luminary is great almost beyond belief, so that any hypothesis with respect to its source, must appear equally wild and chimerical. Still whatever be the ultimate fate of this new theory, it will ever be looked upon as one of the noblest speculations of modern times, and as such well deserving of public attention.

Before discussing Siemens' view, it may be well to glance briefly at the present state of speculation upon the subject. The quantity of heat, which is annually received by the earth from the sun, has been pretty accurately measured by Sir John Herschel, who, after a series of experiments upon a tropical sun at the Cape of Good Hope, was led to conclude, that the sun's direct heating effect at the sea level, is competent to produce the liquefaction of about half an inch of ice per hour. By a simple process in multiplication, the total quantity of heat received by the earth in a year, may readily be determined, and is found to be equivalent to a quantity sufficient to melt a layer of ice about 120 feet in thickness. But the earth receives only an infinitesimally small portion of the total radiation. If the sun radiates its heat in all directions (and there is no reason for believing otherwise), then our earth only receives the two thousand three hundred millionth part of the heat thus emitted, since its surface only occupies this portion of the whole area of a hollow sphere which, with a radius equal to the earth's mean distance, may be conceived to encircle our great luminary as centre. Taking this, then, into consideration, the total quantity of heat annually radiated by the sun into space, has been calculated "to be equivalent to that which would be generated by the combustion of a layer of coal about 20 miles in thickness entirely surrounding its orbit"; or to bring this calculation more within the range of possible conception, is such as would be maintained for about a day and a half by the combustion of a globe of coal about the size of the earth. If, then, the calculation of a year's expenditure of solar energy almost surpasses the limits of human conception, how are we to realize in thought the enormous quantity which has been generated and expended

for ages, and yet notwithstanding this enormous generation and expenditure, there are no signs either of diminution or exhaustion. To all appearance the source of the supply is seemingly inexhaustible. The mode in which this waste of solar energy is made good, therefore, becomes a question of extreme, of surpassing interest.

There are some who imagine, that the whole difficulty is solved by asserting that the sun was originally "created" hot. No scientific mind, however, can or will repose upon such an assertion. Examine the shingle which is thrown up in such large quantities upon the banks of some rapidly flowing river. The mind at once acknowledges that the pebbles, which are so numerous strewn about, must have been worn into their present smooth and rounded shape by some physical cause competent to produce the effect. So is it with the maintenance of the sun's light and heat. There must be some physical cause, which will account in a rational manner for the enormous expenditure of force, which is annually taking place in our great luminary. Think not, then, that the sun was originally endowed with a surplus of light and heat which, (in virtue of the law of exchanges,) it is gradually expending. At its present rate of emission, it would long ere now have become cool, and this earth of ours, so far as the sun is concerned, would have been left to swing in an eternity of darkness.

The ordinary chemical hypothesis must likewise be rejected, on account of its inadequacy to account for the sun's continued and undiminished energetic splendour. This hypothesis has been ably controverted by Sir William Thomson in an article read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1854, in which he argues, that simple combustion, however intense, however great, is altogether unable to maintain, except for a few minutes, the enormous generation of heat which is being so copiously radiated into space. "If the products of combustion were gaseous, they would, in rising, check the necessary supplies of fresh air; if they were solid and liquid, they would interfere with the supply of elements from below. In either, or in both ways, the fire would be choked, and I think it may be safely affirmed that no such fire could keep a light for more than a few minutes by any conceivable adaptation of air or of fuel." Another form of the chemical theory of the sun's light and heat, is that possibly, like gunpowder or gun-cotton, it may contain within itself all the elements necessary for its complete combustion. This is a conceivable enough hypothesis, but unfortunately for its tenability, our great luminary, notwithstanding its size, would soon, comparatively speaking, disappear, and "like an unsubstantial pageant faded, leave not a rack behind." Sir William Thomson has made the following wonderful calculation with respect to the sun's period of existence,

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if in a state of combustion. Taking the highest thermal equivalent of burning matter, he has found that at least a layer of the sun's orbit, about 55 miles thick, would require to be consumed in a year, in order to maintain the enormous expenditure of solar energy which is annually taking place at its surface. "At this rate of combustion," he says, "the sun would burn away in 8,000 years, and if it has been burning at the same rate in past times, it must have been of double diameter, of quadruple heating power, and of eight-fold mass only 8,000 years ago." Clearly, then, ordinary chemical action is altogether inadequate to account for the effect produced.

The theory which has received the largest share of serious attention among physicists, up to the present time, is the meteoric theory, first advocated by Meyer, and afterwards ably worked out by Thomson, who, however, it must be mentioned, subsequently found it necessary to slightly modify his views upon this subject. Now whatever be the ultimate fate of this theory, there can be no doubt, at least, as to the adequacy of the cause to produce the effect, provided that a sufficient quantity of meteors be conceded. The production of heat by mechanical means is a doctrine, which has lately, (owing mainly to the laborious experiments of Joule,) become a universally accepted truth. This conversion of force into heat may be observed in most of the operations which are daily taking place around us. Watch, for example, a blacksmith, as he swings his heavy sledge hammer on high to bring it down with mighty force upon the metal which rings aloud with the shock. The energy of the blow after the descending hammer is arrested by the piece of metal, is apparently destroyed. Before, however, pronouncing upon this seeming destruction of force, ask him if the metal upon which he is working, is not greatly heated by the successive blows of his hammer. Possibly in answer, he may tell you of the many burns which he received from this cause in the days of his inexperience. But the development of heat by the destruction of mechanical force, may be witnessed in a still more striking manner, and upon a much grander scale, by watching the approach of a railway-train towards its destination. Possibly half an hour before, it was flying along at the rate of 50 or 60 miles an hour. Now, before it can be brought to a standstill, the whole of the moving force which it then possessed, must be converted into heat. Indeed, the sparks which may be seen in a dark evening issuing from the brake-wheels of the engine, are but the visible manifestations of this conversion. Now, the relation between heat and mechanical force is not a hap-hazard relation. It is fixed and invariable, and the law of their exact equivalence, which was first determined by Joule, may be thus briefly stated.—"Heat and mechanical energy are mutually convertible; and heat requires

for its production, and produces by its disappearance mechanical energy in the ratio of 772 foot pounds for every thermal unit; or if the degrees be centigrade 1,390 foot pounds for every thermal unit." It is now easy to calculate the exact equivalent of heat, which would be developed by the destruction of the energy of any moving body, provided its weight and its velocity be given. Indeed, the calculation with these data, is one of the simplest problems in mechanics. Now the velocity which the sun's attractive power could develop in any meteoric masses, which may happen to be revolving elliptically round its orbit, cannot be less than 300 miles per hour. Only think of the enormous quantity of heat which would be generated by the crash of a body moving with such a velocity. Why the heat produced by the collision, would be sufficient to melt and dissipate in one moment, its whole mass, even should it happen to be incombustible. In this way, then, a temperature could easily be maintained at the sun's surface, which would account in a rational manner, at least, for the seemingly inexhaustible source of its enormous annual heat expenditure. Hence, then, the cause is quite adequate to produce the effect. The question, however, arises, is the supply of meteors and meteoric stones sufficient to maintain the continual fiery downpour upon its burning surface. If on a clear starry night, you watch the heavens, your patience will soon be rewarded by the appearance of a shooting star which suddenly attracts your attention, and as suddenly disappears. Now these shooting stars are believed to be planetary bodies revolving elliptically round the sun, but being disturbed by the earth's attractive power, they are drawn slightly out of their course, and are rendered white-hot in passing through a portion of our atmosphere. The number of meteors, however, which shed a momentary gleam upon this earth, give one only a faint idea of the millions of millions of them which are circulating round the sun, and which must be continually sucked into its centre by the force of gravity. This rain-cloud of meteoric matter as it concentrates towards its centre of attraction, must ere long acquire a density sufficient for visibility. Such is supposed to be the origin of the Zodiacal light which encircles the sun like a vast zone of lenticular form. If, then, the sun's heat is maintained in this way by the continual downpour of meteors, so enormous is the supply, that it is not likely that there will be any appreciable diminution in its intensity for *Æons* of ages, and possibly long before the period of eternal darkness, predicted by this theory sets in, our earth may have followed its smaller planetary brethren to its fiery end. By means of this theory, we are thus able to unveil the mysteries of the future. So also are we able to peer back into the secrets of the past, when the

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sun was young and the earth was without form or void. Then the whole of space was filled with nebulous matter floating about in a state of great tenuity. Out of the condensation of this nebulous matter, according to Laplace, the whole of the solar system has been evolved. Now these primeval particles of matter in coming together, must have generated heat in proportion to their distance and their gravitating force. The earth and the planets like the sun, therefore, must at one time have been glowing masses of burning matter. Indeed, the internal heat of our earth still testifies to its possible origin. In all probability, our great luminary may have a similar fate. Just as the greater portion of the heat which our earth once possessed, has been gradually dissipated into space, so too its heat may in the distant future become exhausted and extinct. The period at which this may take place, however, is so far distant, as to be beyond the limits of all human conception. Even without taking into account the heat generated by the continual downpour of meteors upon the sun's surface, its simple condensation to the mean density which the earth now possesses, would produce a quantity of heat sufficient to last, according to Helmholtz, for more than 17 millions of years at the present rate of emission. The earth is therefore good for us and for millions of generations after us, so that the prediction with respect to the final extinction of the solar system need give us no great cause for alarm. Such, then, is a brief sketch of the dynamical theory of the sun.

Dr. Siemens has concentrated his attention, not so much upon the amount of heat which is received by the earth and the planets as upon the enormous quantity of solar energy which is apparently so lavishly radiated into space. The earth, we have already pointed out, only receives an infinitesimally small portion of the sun's total radiation. Indeed, it has been calculated that it only receives the 2,300 millionth part of it. Now, supposing that each of the other planets receives on an average the same amount of heat as the earth does, the total quantity, thus accounted for, would fall more than 250,000,000 times short of of the total annual heat expenditure. The question, therefore, naturally suggests itself—is this vast quantity of heat radiated into space, without serving any special purpose, without in a word doing any work. No scientific mind can possibly believe in such a prodigious, such a wanton waste of potential energy. It matters not upon what theory of the sun's existence it be tested. I believe that such a lavish expenditure of force will be found to be equally contrary to the spirit of the sun's gradual evolution in virtue of the law of gravitation from the primeval nebulous matter which once filled all space, as it is to its creation by the fiat of divine intelligence. What then becomes of the

enormous quantity of solar energy which is seemingly so wantonly dissipated? May it not be recovered, and returned to the sun, there to be utilized at some future period in doing its proper work. This is the view which Dr. Siemens has so ingeniously matured. Modern science has of late made almost unprecedented advances in the investigation of cosmical phenomena. By the aid of the spectroscopè, man has been able to soar far beyond the limits of his terrestrial habitation, and to gaze with undiminished intellectual vision into the regions of unlimited space, where worlds revolve round worlds, and systems round systems. By its subtle aid, he has been able to analyse the secret processes of nature, and to penetrate deep into the mysteries of the heavens, and, with almost unparalleled certainty, to determine the nature and constitution of the sun and fixed stars, and, partially at least, to pronounce upon the composition of the wandering comets, and the gauzy nebulae. The searching power of spectrum analysis has disclosed also that space, planetary and stellar alike, is occupied by matter in a state of extreme tenuity. Siemens accepts this doctrine of all pervading matter, and suggests that it mainly consists of oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, carbon, and their compounds. Now it has been found that the greater the tenuity of a gas or vapour, the greater the readiness with which it can be decomposed into its constituent elements, and consequently the less the heat required for that purpose. What is more likely then, than that the radiant heat which is seemingly so copiously lavished into space, is utilized in performing this work of decomposition? There is nothing very chimerical in such a supposition. The whole of space is proved by spectrum analysis, to be filled with gaseous matter, vast quantities, of which are being continually used up in maintaining the sun's enormous heat expenditure. Now the products of this combustion will almost entirely consist of aqueous vapour and carbonic acid, both of which being gaseous, will diffuse freely into the space atmosphere. On reaching a certain degree of tenuity, it is quite conceivable that they may both be decomposed at a comparatively low temperature by solar radiation into their constituent elements which are in this way again fitted to become fuel for the great central fire of the solar system. If now a continual flow of burnt matter on the one hand, and combustible matter on the other, be maintained at the sun's surface, we have all the requisites necessary for accounting for the light and heat of our great luminary. Now an effective flow can easily be produced by the sun's rotation round its axis. On account of its immense size, the velocity of rotation must increase very rapidly towards the equator. This is sure to occasion in the equatorial plane, a large extension of the vaporous matter surrounding the

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sun's disc, which, in virtue of centrifugal force, must be continually projected into space. The diminished pressure at the poles thus produced, will thence give rise to an inflow of oxygen, hydrogen, and hydrocarbons from the space atmosphere. These gases, as they approach the polar regions of the sun, will increase in density, and when they reach the photosphere will burst into flame, the hydrogen and the carbon uniting with the oxygen, with a development of heat quite sufficient to render the products of the combustion white-hot. These products remain in their incandescent state during their flow from the poles to the equator where they are again projected into space, there to be decomposed after cooling into their constituent elements by the power of solar radiation. In this continual flow of burnt and unburnt matter, a source of the maintenance of the sun's light and heat has been found which is unexhausted and apparently inexhaustible.

This is a question about which the spectroscope ought to have something to say. If there is, as, Siemens suggests, this continual inflow of elementary bodies and hydrocarbons at the polar regions of the sun, with a corresponding outflow of oxide compounds at the equator, surely the spectra of the solar atmosphere at and around these places, should give some indication of their chemical difference. So far, however, the spectroscopic observations which have been made up to the present time, do not apparently afford much ground for the correctness of such an hypothesis. Indeed, the general appearance of the solar spectrum points rather to an opposite conclusion, *viz.*, that there are no compounds in the sun. Of course it is quite possible that the increased attention which will now be devoted to the subject, may indicate a difference in the atmospheric conditions of the sun, which could only be explained by the existence of compound vapours. Be that as it may, whatever be the ultimate fate of Siemens' speculation, there can be no doubt that it possesses the merit of ingenuity, and is likely to influence very materially future investigations upon the subject.

JOHN HARDIE, M. A.

THE QUARTER.

THE Quarter under review has been one of considerable changes amongst some of the higher Indian officials. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh Sir George Couper has been succeeded by Sir Alfred C. Lyall. In the Punjab Sir Robert Egerton has been followed by Sir Charles Aitcheson, and in Bengal Sir Ashley Eden has made way for the Hon'ble Rivers Thompson. The Legal Member of the Legislative Council, Mr. Whitley Stokes, has made over charge to his successor Mr. Ilbert. The Chief Justice of Bombay, Sir Michael Westropp, has left India, and various other changes of lesser note have distinguished the early part of this quarter as one of unprecedented change. Sir Robert Egerton went first to the Punjab some thirty-two years ago, and as Settlement Officer, Deputy Commissioner, Commissioner, Financial Commissioner, and Lieutenant-Governor, has been all that time closely identified with the Frontier Province and its interests. That portion of India is frequently referred to as furnishing a model of sound and successful administration, and its late Lieutenant-Governor has been connected with it, in various capacities, from within a year or two of its conquest and annexation. During Sir Roberts' five years as Lieutenant-Governor, the internal affairs of the model Province did not give much trouble, the riots in the Delhi, Umballa and Rohtak districts in 1879 arising out of the high price of grain, the dispute between the Saraogis and the Vaishnavas, and the disturbances between the Hindus and Mahomedans over the beef question, being almost the only serious matters with which he had to deal. Of course, the occurrence of the Afghan War naturally involved the Punjab, and it is to Sir Roberts's credit that the Punjab Government did their part efficiently in furnishing men, transport and supplies, and in the arrangements made by them with the frontier tribes, thus contributing, in some important particulars, to the success of our arms in Afghanistan. Sir Robert and Lady Egerton left Lahore on the evening of the 3rd April. The officials, residents and chiefs of the Punjab were present to bid him good-bye.

Sir Alfred Lyall arrived at Allahabad on the 13th April, and was the guest of Sir George Couper till the departure of the latter for Eugland.

Sir George Couper made over charge of his Government on the 17th April to Sir Alfred Lyall, and left Allahabad for Bombay the same evening. The High Court Judges, and the heads of departments, Sir Herbert Macpherson, the Maharajah of Benares, and a large gathering of Europeans and Natives assembled at the railway station to witness his departure.

Sir George Couper's career has, in many respects, been a history of Upper India ; no official has in recent years taken a deeper interest in its material progress ; and in his devotion to duty he, in many respects, resembled Sir Henry Lawrence. Sir George Couper's famine policy of 1877-78 was condemned and severely criticised in certain quarters, the principal assailant being a journalist, who has now left India, and who distinguished himself by attacking some of the most trusted servants of the Government. Sir George Couper's advocacy of the light railway system has been generally approved of by the Government ; and the present progressive position of the North-West Provinces and Oudh is, in a large measure, due to his administration, which has been distinguished by fearless honesty and generous manly self-reliance.

Sir Ashley Eden took his departure from Bengal to assume the position of Member of the Indian Council, after a series of farewell meetings and ovations, which has seldom marked the leave-taking of any Indian ruler. The Bhagalpur Zemindars, the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, the Behar Landlords, the Trades' Association, the Civil Service, of which he is so distinguished a member, the general public of Calcutta, and several native gentlemen, each vied with the other in public farewell addresses and dinners to Sir Ashley, who sailed in the "Pekin" on the morning of the 24th. On the same day Reuter announced the death of Sir Erskin Perry whom Sir Ashley Eden succeeds in the Indian Council. The prosperity of Bengal during the five years of Sir Ashley Eden's administration has been remarkable. The particulars given in the *Calcutta Gazette* show, that during that period, there has been a great increase under every head of revenue : in excise 26½ lakhs, in railways 25, in stamps 12, in irrigation 5. Upwards of 20 lakhs were spent on railways, 39 lakhs on irrigation and navigation, all from the surplus revenue of Bengal. A total expenditure of 200 lakhs was effected on public works of all kinds. At the beginning of His Honour's administration, the credit balance was only 2 lakhs and eighty-eight thousand, when he laid down office, the balance was nearly forty-four lakhs.

The Hon'ble Rivers Thompson arrived in Calcutta on the morning of the 20th, and took over the duties of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

On the eve of his leaving India Sir Ashley embodied his ideas on the extension of local self-government in an important official paper from which we quote a few passages—

"I am now directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 3513, dated 10th October, on the subject of the further extension of local self-government in Bengal. Sir Ashley Eden has given this question his most careful consideration, and he has had before him the opinions of the local officers of his administration, as well

as those of various public bodies in this province. The conclusions at which he has arrived are stated in the following paragraphs :—

2. Sir Ashley Eden has no doubt of the soundness of the general policy of extending local self-government in Bengal, and he believes it to be at once the duty and the interest of Government to promote among the people a genuine and intelligent concern in the management of local affairs and the development of local institutions. But he is convinced that, if this policy is really to succeed, it must be introduced with the utmost caution, and that any attempt to force suddenly upon the country at large an elaborate system of administration based upon the practice of Western nations and foreign to all the traditions and ideas of the people, must necessarily result in failure. The first question, therefore, which he has had to consider is, whether the legislation which will be needed to confer the necessary powers on local bodies in advanced districts could contain provisions so graduated, that some at least might be extended to all districts. After careful consideration he has come to the conclusion, that this would not be possible, and in his opinion a number of experienced officers whom he has consulted, unanimously concur. In a province like Bengal, which contains districts representing many different stages of development and education, no single system of local self-government could be administered with success. Pooree and Chumparun differ as much from Singbhoom and the Chittagong Hill tracts on one side, as they differ from Hooghly and the 24-Pergunnahs on the other. If the measures were uniform, it would fail by being either too elaborate for the backward districts, or too simple for the more advanced. If it provided in itself for too many gradations, it would be unwieldy. In the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion we should provide for the gradual advance of backward districts by improving existing machinery and enlarging the powers of local bodies, as far as may be considered advisable by executive order. For advanced districts one comprehensive measure should be enacted providing for all the branches of local self-government.

3. It is unnecessary at this stage to specify the districts to be placed under the first category. They will probably be those comprised in the Chota Nagpore, Orissa, and Chittagong Divisions, and some of those comprised in the Patna, Bhagulpore, Rajshahye, and Dacca Divisions. The three districts to which the Cess Act does not apply—Singbhoom, the Sonthal Pergunnahs, and the Chittagong Hill tracts—will of course not be affected. The Lieutenant-Governor trusts that as time goes on, the number of districts admitted to the larger measure will gradually increase. Meanwhile, he considers that the following policy should be adopted. The

Committees constituted, under the Cess Act, should be carefully revised and strengthened, inactive members being eliminated, and members added who will consent to take a genuine interest in the administration of the district affairs. To these Committees should be entrusted, provisionally, the maintenance of all Provincial Roads, of Staging Bungalows, and of such other buildings as the Department of Public Works may find it possible, in consultation with the Committees, to place under their management. The existing District Education Committee should be abolished, and their function transferred to the Committees already entrusted with the administration of the Road Cess. These functions would be considerably enlarged. They would extend to some control over the grant for primary schools, and over the grant-in-aid allotment, and to the management of Government secondary schools and circle schools, and of Government High English schools. The Committee would also be vested with the management of all dispensaries outside municipal limits, which now receive aid from Government. They would have the charge of all school and dispensary buildings in cases where the institution was under their charge. A fixed grant would be made representing the present expenditure on the services entrusted to the Committees, less the net proceeds of ferries and pounds in the district. The latter sources of income would be made over to them, but the administration of ferries and pounds could only be confided to bodies appointed under the new Act. It would be understood that ample powers of inspection would be reserved to Government, and that, in the event of the duty not being satisfactorily performed, the whole, or a part of the grant, or of the Committee's powers might be withdrawn. In some districts it might not be possible to give such large powers, but this is the general scheme that Sir Ashley Eden would wish to try in districts which are not yet sufficiently advanced for a more elaborate measure. As the new law cannot come into force for some months, he would apply this executive measure at once to all districts, extending the new law afterwards to such districts as may be considered suitable for its application. Orders in this matter will not, however, be immediately issued, as Sir Ashley Eden does not consider that it would be proper for him, immediately before laying down the Government, to commit his successor to such a large measure of policy.

4. The law embodying the more elaborate measure of local self-government should be framed on the model of the General Municipal Act, with provisions under the various heads, which could be extended or withdrawn by executive order. One chapter would deal with public works, and would take the place of Chapters VIII to XII of the Cess Act, which chapters would, on the

extension of the new Act to any district, cease to be in force in it. Another would deal with sanitation, a third with medical charity, and so forth. The Lieutenant-Governor now proceeds to explain the details of the legislative measure which he would propose.

(1)—*Constitution of Boards.*

5. If any practical result is to be obtained from the extension of local self-government, it is essential that the unit of administration should be the *Local* or Sub-divisional Board, and not the *District* Board. The District Board should have the general control of the scheme of district work; it should have the allotment of funds, and it should direct the policy of the district as a whole. But the details of local self-government can only be performed by working local bodies with limited areas of jurisdiction. Where these cannot be formed, as much use as possible must be made of District Committees; but it is only to districts in which they can be formed that a detailed scheme, such as is now under consideration, can with any advantage be applied. It is quite impossible that the affairs of a district in many departments can be efficiently managed by a body of men meeting six or eight times in the year at the head-quarters station. The distances are too great, and the number of possible meetings would be too small to admit of thorough control by the Board at large, and it would be hopeless to look for sustained interest on the part of the members in the details of business conducted on such a system. One of two evils would be inevitable,—either meetings would be held at large intervals, when the work could not be probably done, or meetings would be held at short intervals, when members from outlying places would be practically excluded, and the work of the Board would fall into the hands of the members who reside at or near the head-quarters station. Some officers propose to have departmental sub-committees to conduct the executive business of the District Board in the different branches during the intervals between its meetings. This, however, would only stereotype the second evil just referred to. These sub-committees must meet frequently, and only members residing at or near the head-quarters station—certainly in the head-quarters sub-division—could attend meetings frequently. A few members, therefore, from the head-quarters station and its neighbourhood would do all the executive work of the District Board, merely reporting to, or taking orders from, the general body six or eight times a year. The members from the interior of the district would be deprived of all concern in the working of the business of local self-government. Yet it is this concern, and not the privilege of voting or debating at meetings held a few times in the year, that we wish to secure to them in

order that they may learn to administer their own public affairs. What is required is a Local Board for each sub-division, inclusive of the head-quarters, each Local Board doing the work of its own sub-division under the general control of the District Board, and periodically referring to it questions of district importance, and applying to it for the allotment of district funds. It is certain that sub-committees at the head-quarters and Local Boards at sub-divisions could not work together. If we have the one, we must abandon the other. If we have the former, we give local self-government to the head-quarters sub-division only, and we exclude the other sub-divisions indefinitely from it. If we have the latter, we give all the sub-divisions the same privilege. The Lieutenant-Governor, has, therefore, made the Local or Sub-divisional Board the basis of his scheme.

6. The non-official section of each *Local Board* should consist of two members from each thana, if possible, or, if this cannot be secured, of a number of members calculated in that proportion. The Chairman should be, in the head-quarters sub-division, a Joint, Deputy, or Assistant Magistrate, nominated by the Magistrate of the district; in other sub-divisions, the sub-divisional officer. The High Court have very properly objected to judicial officers holding posts involving so much executive responsibility as the Vice-Chairmanship of a Road Cess Committee. It is quite essential that the head of the Local Board should be an officer of Government accustomed to the transaction of public business. Without this, confusion and neglect would inevitably occur. The ample representation of non-official members on the Board would render it impossible for the Chairman to monopolize its powers. The only *ex-officio* member of the Local Board, besides the Chairman, would be the Deputy Inspector of Schools. Each Local Board should elect its own Vice-Chairman. The general proportion on Local Boards throughout the district should be not less than two non-official members to one official member. Endeavours should be made to secure this proportion on each Local Board; but their might be cases where this would be inconvenient, and it would be sufficient to ensure that in the aggregate of the members of Local Boards throughout the district, the proportion of not less than two-thirds and one-third is observed.

7. As a general rule, appointment of Local Boards must be by nomination—by Government in the first instance, and by Government or the Board itself on the occasion of vacancies. Objections have recently been taken, in one important municipality, to an invitation to nominate members for the approval of Government. It might, however, be

provided that in certain cases Local Boards might be authorized to nominate, for the approval of Government, members to fill vacancies, the votes being taken by ballot. The members first appointed should remain in office for three years. Afterwards members should retire in rotation, one-third every year; but retiring members should be eligible for re-appointment.

8. Though, however, *as a general rule, appointment must be by nomination, Sir Ashley Eden considers it very desirable that some provision should

Election.

be made for election. If this were omitted, the measure would not be complete, and with the safeguard of a property qualification for voters and candidates, the experiment might well be tried in one or two places. The qualification for voters might be the payment of Rs. 25 road cess, or Rs. 20 license tax, or proof to the satisfaction of the Magistrate of the district, of income from other sources than land amounting to not less than Rs. 1,000 per annum. For candidates Sir Ashley Eden would insist on the possession of landed or house property within the area to be represented, of the value of not less than Rs. 1,000 per annum. It is important that representatives of rural areas elected under the Act should have a substantial stake in the locality which returns them. The experiment might be tried in one or two thannas in the Hooghly, Howrah, or the 24-Pergunnahs Districts. If it failed, the provision might be withdrawn from the place in question, and no harm would have been done. To extend the system of election indiscriminately, however, would be to court failure. The people at large would take no interest in the elections, and there would be a serious danger of the work passing into the hands of men who would throw discredit on the system.

9. The *District Board* should consist of two delegates elected

District Boards.

by each Local Board, where the jurisdiction of the latter extends over not more than three thannas, of three where it extends over four thannas, and of four where it extends over more than five. As the District Board will have control over education in municipalities and over provincial and district roads passing through them, municipalities should be duly represented, two delegates being sent by each first-class municipality, and one by each second-class municipality with a population of 5,000 or more. The proportion of official to non-official members being observed in regard to the aggregate number of members of Local Boards, and the delegates being elected by their own Boards, it is unnecessary to insist on any fixed proportion being observed on the District Board. It would be convenient to secure this, and to attempt it would be at once to invade the right accorded to the Local Boards of electing their

own delegates. The Chairman of the District Board should be the Magistrate of the district. The Chairman of all Local Boards, the District Superintendent of Police, the Civil Surgeon, and, the Deputy Inspector of Schools, should be the only other *ex-officio* members. The Sanitary Commissioner, the Inspector or Assistant or Joint Inspector of Schools, and the divisional Superintendent of Works should be entitled to attend meetings of the District Board ; but they should have no vote. An example of the application of these proposals is given in the margin. It will be seen that the District Board consists of 24 members, of whom only 8 hold their appointment *ex-officio* :—

10. The Lieutenant-Governor has said, that the Chairman of the District Board should be the Magistrate of the district. This is an indispensable condition. The District Officer is the main-spring of the administration, and it is absolutely essential that his position should be upheld in its integrity. Experiments in local self-government will be very valuable as a means of educating the people in the conduct of affairs, but they must not be allowed to weaken the frame-work of Government. In the day of trouble Government must look to its District Officers, and not to District Boards, to uphold its authority and carry out its orders. There is no reasonable doubt, moreover, that the great mass of the people would have no confidence in any system of management from which the head of the district was excluded, or in which he held a subordinate place, and that they would attach no prestige to a Board constituted under such a system. Any one who knows the country knows that the District Officers possess, in a remarkable degree, the confidence and respect of the people.

The District Boards should elect their own Vice-Chairman, subject to the approval of Government."

The scheme for the reorganisation of the Native Army was issued towards the end of April. We give the substance of the scheme as follows :—

"The Regiments of the Indian Army selected to be broken up are :—In the Bengal Presidency, 16th and 17th Bengal Cavalry, 4th Panjáb Cavalry, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th and 41st Native Infantry, the 3rd Panjáb Infantry,—Madras Presidency, 34th to 41st Infantry inclusive,—Bombay Presidency 3rd Sind Horse, 6th, 11th, 15th, 18th Native Infantry. All Native officers, Non-commissioned officers and men of these regiments who wish to work out their remaining service, and are physically fit and otherwise well suited, will be transferred to other regiments by troops and companies under subsequent orders. All Native officers, Non-commissioned officers and men who wish to take their discharge, or are held unfitted for further service, will be discharged on rates of pension and gratuities announced by the

Commander-in-Chief in his speech in Council on March 10th. *As regards Cavalry regiments gratuities will be calculated on rates of ordinary net pay. In those regiments in which, in consequence of transfers made from the regiments reduced, the strength of Native officers and Non-commissioned officers may become in excess of regular authorized establishments, pensions and gratuities, under the scale announced, may be offered to deserving Native officers and Non-commissioned officers of such regiments to the extent of the numbers in excess in these ranks, so that the strength of Native officers and Non-commissioned officers may thus be at once brought down to the fixed authorised establishment. Should this reduction not be completely effected, and any supernumeraries be still left, they will be absorbed by making only two promotions for every three vacancies, every third vacancy being absorbed. Native commissioned officers of Cavalry regiments of twenty five years' service and upwards who may be pensioned will receive a gratuity of twelve months' pay in addition to higher rate of pension, and free passes by rail to their homes will be given to all Native officers, Non-commissioned officers and men discharged. In those cases in Cavalry regiments about to be reduced where the Chunda fund of a regiment, after disposal of its horses under orders to be subsequently issued, is unable to meet the entire cost of defraying the horse price of the men discharged or transferred, the sums necessary for this purpose will be granted by Government under orders to be issued hereafter. In order to complete the horse price of men who are transferred to other corps, who have not yet paid up their full horse price in their present corps, loans will be granted to Commanding officers receiving men transferred of the amount of such horse price still due, to be repaid, without interest, at two rupees per man per month. Such assistance will be granted from equipment funds of the Cavalry regiments reduced, as will permit of their paying up men discharged the proper value of their equipments, the sale proceeds of which will be carried to credit of Government, and the certified actual cost involved in the change of uniform and equipment will be allowed to soldiers transferred to other regiments, and necessary changes of uniforms for Infantry troops transferred will be at the public expense. An additional European officer to rank as Wing or Squadron officer, will be appointed for each regiment, as per General Wilson's late statement in Council. Senior officers whose regiments will be absorbed are offered the retiring terms announced by the Commander-in-Chief on the above occasion in Council, and the officers desirous of availing themselves of those terms, are to notify their intention on or before the 30th September, as the reduction of regiments will be completed during June next. Transfers of men made on the 30th of that month, and the new organisation, have effect from the 1st July. Good conduct pay to Non-commissioned offi-

cers at the rates lately announced by the Commander-in-Chief will also be instituted from the 1st July, and Non-commissioned officers who may at that date have completed the full periods of service noted in His Excellency's announcement, will at once receive the corresponding rate of good conduct pay. In carrying out the above reductions and transfers, the existing establishments of the Cavalry of the Corps of Guides and the three regiments of the Assam Infantry remain unaltered, as well as that of the Gurkha regiments for the present."

An important document was issued by the Government of India on the policy of local self-Government on the 19th of May, from which it may be gathered that the present Government are bent on making the experiment how best to call forth and render effective the capacity of self-Government.

The general impression is that the scheme, however applicable it may be to large towns and a few stations where educated natives may most be found, is quite unsuited for the bulk of the people of India. The scheme is not yet elaborated in all its details; and it is to be hoped that the attempt at local self-Government may not defeat its own ends by granting powers to men utterly unfitted to use them: The following is a summary of the resolution from the *Englishman* :—

"The Government of India in the Home Department has issued an important resolution in further development of the policy of local self-Government. After a brief allusion to the subject, as it now stands, the Governor-General in Council proceeds to give further instructions as to the methods to be followed in giving effect to the principle of local self-Government throughout British India and outside the Presidency towns. The resolution deals first, with the mode in which local boards, municipal and district, should be constituted. Absolute uniformity of system throughout India is not expected or desired; indeed, there is held to be an advantage in allowing local peculiarities free play, so that the systems best suited to the country may come to the front. Fundamental principles, however, must be the same everywhere. Local Governments, therefore, while maintaining and extending the Municipal government in towns, are instructed to organise wherever intelligent non-official agency can be obtained, a net work of local boards to be charged with definite duties and entrusted with definite funds. The jurisdiction of the boards should be so limited in area, that local knowledge and interest may be secured in each member. District boards are held to be open to the objection that, distant members cannot attend, and outlying tracts suffer in the distribution of funds, while the work tends to fall into the hands of the district officers. Sub-divisional boards with occasional district councils of delegates to settle matters of wider interest are favoured in preference to the district boards with subordinate local com-

mittees. The relations between the municipal and local boards are indicated as requiring a settlement according to local circumstances. In all local boards non-official members are to be at least two-thirds of the total holding office at least for two years and retiring by rotation, but here the details are left to the provincial Governments. The elective system is to be preferred wherever practicable, but is not universally insisted on. Election in some form or other should be tried in towns of any size and be extended more cautiously to smaller towns and backward rural tracts, but even in the latter localities Government is disposed to think that the elective system might, under a suitable plan, be attempted. The qualification should first be kept fairly high as regards the system of election. Discretion is left to the provincial Governments, who are advised to consult native gentlemen of position, to adapt their arrangements according to local feelings and circumstances. Diversity of system at the outset is not considered a matter of importance. The problem is to discover, in what manner the people of India can best be trained to manage their own local affairs intelligently and successfully. To that end every reasonable plan should be tried. The failure hitherto to make the elective system a success may be attributed rather to the want of earnest endeavour than to any inherent defects. What is now wanted is the patient and practical experiment how best to call forth and render effective the desire and capacity for self-Government which all fairly educated men may be assumed to possess, To stimulate the candidacy of respectable natives, and mark the importance of the function of local boards, the courtesy titles of Rai Bahadoor and Khan Bahadoor will attach to the members during the term of office. Considering next the control which is to be retained by Government over the local boards, the resolution explains that this is to be exercised by a system of revision and check, and not of official dictation. The sanction of the executive authority will be required for certain acts, such as raising of loans, forms of taxation, and the provincial Governments must, like the local Government Board of England, have power to interfere and set aside certain proceedings, or even with the approval of the Supreme Government, supersede a board temporarily for gross neglect. But the duty of executive officers will be to watch the proceedings and call attention to important matters, and check, by official remonstrance, any irregular or illegal action. For the exercise of these powers it is not necessary or desirable that a district or sub-divisional officer should generally be Chairman of the urban or rural boards. If the boards are to serve as training schools in administration, they must be free from official dictation, and feel that they have real power and real responsibilities. The district officer will

have a more dignified and influential position if he supervises the control of proceedings from outside. In any place if a suitable non-official Chairman be not available, and in exceptional districts, an official Chairman may be allowed, but is to have no vote in the proceedings of the local Board. Appointments of Chairman should be subject to Government approval, but their election, whenever possible, should be left to the boards. The resolution insists on the importance of giving the local boards the management of revenues as well as expenditure. It proposes that higher class engineering agency should be supplied by Government in order to avoid double establishments and waste of public money. This would enable the provincial governments to make over more freely provincial works to the local boards. For the management, care is however to be taken to secure effectually the initiative and controlling power of the boards.

In the course of the resolution regarding local self-Government, it is observed that the Governor-General in Council must explain that, in advocating the extension of local self-Government and the adoption of this principle in the management of many branches of local affairs, he does not suppose that the work will, in the first instance, be better done than if it remained in the sole hands of the Government district officers. It is not primarily with a view to improvement in administration that the measure is put forward. It is chiefly desirable as an instrument of political and popular education. His Excellency in Council has himself no doubt that, in the course of time, as local knowledge and local interest are brought to bear more freely upon local administration, improved efficiency will in fact follow. But at starting there will doubtless be many failures calculated to discourage exaggerated hopes, and even, in some cases, to cast apparent discredit upon the practice of self-government itself. If, however, the officers of Government only set themselves, as the Governor-General in Council believes they will, to foster sedulously the small beginnings of independent political life; if they accept loyally, and as their own, the policy of Government; if they come to realize in the system really open to them, a fairer field for the exercise of administrative tact and directive energy than the more autocratic system which it supersedes, then, it may be hoped, that the period of failures will be short and that real substantial progress will very soon become manifest. It is not uncommonly asserted that the people of this country themselves are so entirely indifferent to the principles of self-government, that they take but little interest in public matters, and prefer to have such affairs managed by Government officers. The Governor-General in Council does not attach much value to this theory. It represents, no doubt, a point of view which commands itself to many active well-intentioned district officers, and

the people of India are, there can equally be no doubt, remarkably tolerant of existing facts. But as education advances, there is rapidly growing up all over the country an intelligent class of public-spirited men, whom it is not only bad policy but sheer waste of power to fail to utilize. The task of the administration is yearly becoming more onerous, as the country progresses in civilisation and material prosperity. The annual reports of every Government tell of an ever-increasing burden laid upon the shoulders of the local officers. The cry is everywhere for increased establishments. The universal complaint, in all departments, is that of overwork. In these circumstances it becomes imperatively necessary to look around for some means of relief, and the Governor-General in Council has no hesitation in stating his conviction, that the only reasonable plan open to Government is to induce the people themselves to undertake, as far as may be, the management of their affairs, and to develop or create, if need be, the capacity for self-help in respect of all matters that have not, for imperial reasons, to be retained in the hands of the representatives of Government. If it be said that the experiments hitherto made in this direction have not been encouraging, the Governor-General in Council must avow his belief that the principle has not as yet been in any general or satisfactory fashion fully or fairly tried. There is reason to fear that previous attempts at local self-Government have been too often overridden and practically crushed by direct though well meant official interference. In a few cases where real responsibility has been thrown upon local bodies and real power entrusted to them, the results have been very gratifying. There is even now a vast amount of assistance rendered to the administration by Honorary Magistrates, Members of Municipal Corporations and other Committees, and there is no antecedent improbability in theory that, if non-official auxiliary agency were more thoroughly organised and more fully trusted, there would be speedy and marked improvement, not only in its amount but in its efficiency.

The Burmese embassy left Mandalay on the 2nd April on board the *Irrawaddy* Company's steamer *Irrawaddy*, they were received with all honours at Rangoon, Calcutta and Simla. During the progress of the embassy news was received of further atrocities at Mandalay. On the night of the 8th April, the Pintha Prince, brother of the late Yenoung Mentta, the Kanee Atwinwoor, father of one of the inferior Queens and the commander of King Theebaw's Municipal body-guard, were put to death in jail for treason. Four days later it was reported that the expedition sent against the Shan States, who refused to pay tribute, collapsed after repeated repulse. On the 20th still further massacres were recorded. Relatives and followers to the number of fifty were reported to be

either imprisoned or killed. These reports have been contradicted, and have been again affirmed.

Afghan news has been contradictory and unreliable. No doubt the Government possess knowledge more or less trustworthy regarding the internal affairs of that country, and the intrigues of its more prominent chiefs, but little of this is made public. Towards the end of May, Mahomed Afzul Khan, C.S.I., the Agent of the British Government at the court of His Highness the Ameer of Afghanistan, left Peshawar for Cabul, taking with him six lakhs of rupees for Abdur Rahman. This, apart from the presents of arms and ammunition, makes in all a sum of forty-five lakhs paid to the present ruler of Afghanistan.

June 17th, 1882.

POSTSCRIPT.

Arising of the Khonds against the Kultas is probably the most notable event of the close of the present quarter. The Khonds are the aboriginal inhabitants of the feudatory state of Kalahundi. The Kultas are said to be a hard working agricultural race, who had been attracted to the State by the late Raja. They offered higher terms for the cultivating rights of the villages than the Khonds had been giving, and in this way they were gradually driving the Khonds from the best lands, and a deep hatred was originated between the two. The Khonds, as long ago as last year, had looted some Kultha villages without great violence and without the use of weapons; and attempts to arrange the difficulty between the two races had not been altogether successful. The late Rajah adopted a son with the approval of the Government. This adoption was afterwards cancelled by the Rajah himself and a second boy, now a lad of ten, was adopted. The Rajah having died in 1881, the boy is now the Rajah. The 29th Madras Native Infantry under Colonel Ford, have been sent to Kalahundi. 200 Kultas have been killed, women have been ill used, infants butchered, but women and girls, generally, preserved alive. Some 25 persons have been convicted of participation in these outrages, and 200 are in prison awaiting trial. The rising may be considered at an end so far as the attack on the Kultas is concerned, though there are some grounds for believing that the adherents of the first adopted boy whose title to the Raj was afterwards cancelled, have been more or less actively engaged in fomenting the disturbance. The subject of the Khonds was ably and fully treated by the late Dr. Duff in the pages of this *Review*. Dr. Duff's articles are re-produced in Nos. 8 and 14 of the "Selections from the *Calcutta Review*" at present in course of publication.

June 30th, 1882.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

N O. C L.

ART. I.—MEDIÆVAL INDIA.

[In the following pages attention has been confined to what the natives call "Hindustan" (the country north of the Narbada river). But the circumstances of the Deccan (the Southern country) were not dissimilar.]

THE unprogressive character of Indian society has two aspects. Elphinstone and Metcalfe have bestowed well-known expressions of praise on the tenacious little republics, the village-communes which have survived the storms of conquest and the lapse of time. But this remarkable conservatism has, of course, gone still further, and had its wholly deplorable side. In a rejection of external influences and of the efforts necessary to adopt itself to their action, Indian society has shown a culpable indolence from which it has greatly suffered. Yet it is not the less interesting to find that society preserving the archaic institutions of the old world; the ideas and practices which failed to provide for the prosperity and unity of Greece, and which Rome had outgrown before what is known to her modern historians as the Decemviral compromise. Both by apathy and by oppression India's conquerors have left her in the social stage in which they first found her: a world before the flood. Untravelled Europeans can hardly follow this. It is something like the imaginable result of Rienzi's Revolution if the Romans had been ready to resume the Tribune and the Comitia, and the military organisation of the Fabii and the Scipios.

India has been called "the Italy of Asia"; and in some respects the analogy is fair. From the point of social development, however, the distinction between the two countries is now very marked, and still more strongly characterises their mediæval history. India has always preserved the old Aryan conceptions of law and political economy. Society has been considered as a group of corporate families, whose conduct is to be regulated by

Divine—or Semi-divine—ordinances enforced by excommunication. Italy—like all the rest of the countries influenced by the Roman Empire—has long discarded those ideas, and treated society as composed of individuals controlled by the laws of a temporal Sovereign which are modifiable according to circumstances, and which depend on the sanction of penal force. In the one, therefore, religion has been, with all due respect, relegated to its proper and noble function of disciplining man's emotions and forming his character: in the other religion has maintained the vain and discrediting struggle for a dominion not her own. In which she must always fail, so long as her commands and threats are chiefly addressed to those who heed them least while most requiring direction.

India, like Italy, has been repeatedly subjugated by foreign conquerors: but all—at least until the present century—have maintained this unprofitable system, under all previous rulers the Sovereign power, being only occupied with raising revenue, fighting battles, and issuing what Sir H. S. Maine calls "occasional commands," has never been able to advance the progress, consolidate the union, or conciliate the regard, of the subject races.

In a prior paper (*Islâm in India*) we have seen that the Hindu Empires from Asoka to Mahmud of Ghazni—a period of some twelve centuries—may have produced order, art and literature, but did not produce either history or historical materials. In all that long period—longer than from Egbert to Victoria—we find no traces either of events of importance or of writers able and willing to maintain a record. This peculiarity may be a mark of national happiness, or it may be the result of a metaphysical turn of mind; in any case it must be noted. Turning to modern times, the present writer has elsewhere (*Codification in India*) shown what has been the course adopted by the last conquerors, the British. It is the object of the present study to show what was the intermediate state of things, and how the mediæval masters of the country failed to establish themselves as benefactors or win the hearts of the people. It is no vain boast to say that the British, in spite of most imperfect sympathies on both sides, have influenced the people of India both more profoundly and more for good in one century than their predecessors did in seven. It will be found, the writer hopes, that the sorrows and infirmities that still weigh upon the generally virtuous and amiable races of this country have been chiefly caused by the dulness and selfishness of Tartar despots, amongst whom Akbar alone—following the example of a native Mahammadan statesman—showed any true conception of his duty.

Nevertheless the resemblance between India and Italy remains more than a mere accident of geography. Geographical chance has no doubt a great share in the likeness and its causes. Like Italy India has, to the east and west, an indented sea-board with many good harbours; on the south there is, in each case, a large and fertile island; on the surface of each are ranges of hills, fertile plains, vast natural resources, and an intelligent population divided into many fractional and not always friendly elements. India has the advantage in size, and scale, especially in the extent of its water-communications; but its river-system resembles that of the smaller country in that the northern parts of each are crossed by snow-fed streams which yield the means of irrigation in exact proportion to the wants of the season. Lastly, in the Alpine barriers that separate each from the rougher climates beyond, there are gateways through which hardier races have from time to time poured down upon the fields and cities of the richer but less warlike native populations. These, with all their mental resources, have seldom been able to protect their possessions. As the Gauls, Goths, and Germans have, at all times down almost to our own, done pretty much as they pleased with the Swiss Alps and the land they seem to guard, so in the mountain ramparts of India there have been always portals through which adventurers have pierced, from less productive regions to plunder, burn and slaughter in her cities, and to appropriate the produce of her fields and settle there as masters.

But this is in itself no ultimate evil. These incursions of strangers, when they have amalgamated duly with the natives, have made Italy what she has been for the greater portion of twenty-five centuries—namely, the intellectual centre of the earth. Britain, which for the latter part of that period, has tended to supplant Italy in literature, philosophy and politics, has also benefitted by a constant mixture of blood, of tongues, of ideas, whereby she also has been enabled to develop the best capacities of the various tribes who have blended in the resulting nationality.

The different fate of the Peninsula occupied by the Eastern Aryans, the fact that it has not shown the same amalgamating and progressive tendencies, is therefore calculated to arrest attention. And it seems worth while to examine into the special causes that have led to this variation, and try to ascertain why the people of India have never risen to the conception of social and political evolution that seems still growing in fruitful activity among the nations of Europe. The history of India has yet to be written, in this spirit at least. It is long and obscure; but we know that it has been unhappy. And the sufferings which, almost uniformly, mark its course have been more like the

infirmities of increasing decrepitude and approaching dissolution than like the growing pains and salutary experiences of adolescence and of progress. Why is this?

The first invaders of "Hindustan," or Upper India, of whom we have any authentic record, were the Vedic Aryans. All attempts to fix the date of their arrival have failed. Possibly their invasions did not all occur at the same time; but the similarities between the earliest records and the linguistic remains of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans, together with the likeness among their conceptions of Law and Religion, point to a common origin and to an almost contemporaneous dispersion. Then we have traces of subsequent invasions by "Huns" and "Scythians"; coins and inscriptions show a compound element after the retreat of the Macedonians. Then there was another Scythian incursion which came to an end about the Christian era, to be followed by a native dynasty called "Gupta," which was succeeded in turn by another called "Ballabhi." About this time the Empire seems to have broken up into several independent kingdoms, such as Magadha, Mithila, Delhi, Saurashtra, and Ujain. Whether these continued entirely unmolested by foreign intrusion can hardly be decisively asserted, but probably such was the case. The Moslems who, so early as the 29th year of the Hijra era, had overthrown the native kingdom of Persia, and made settlements in the neighbourhood of Cabul and of Candahar, abstained from attacking India, and soon their warfare rolled westward where it long absorbed itself in the Roman Provinces. When they had conquered Asia Minor, Libya and Spain, and had been checked at the Pyrenees, they naturally turned east for easier conquests. But their first efforts were spasmodic; and in their earlier attacks on India they chiefly sought to ravage her fields and towns, and to return to their own lands glutted for a time with carnage, and laden with spoil. It was not until the end of the twelfth century after Christ, more than five hundred years after the death of Muhamad, that an Afghan host, descending from the mountains of Ghor, fell upon the Punjab and encountered the forces of the Delhi kingdom then led by a Chief of the Chohan Rajputs, named Pirthi Singh, or "Rai Pithora." This chief defeated the Ghorian invaders at Thanesar A. D. 1193.

Two years later they returned, and near the same spot inflicted on the Hindus a crushing overthrow. The city of [old] Delhi and whatever territory could be ruled from thence was occupied by the Ghorian general. His name was Kutb-ud-din Aibak; and we may note that it was he who planned and partly erected the grand monument of victory that bears his name at

Dehli, and promises to bear it down to many a coming age—the tower called “Kutb Munur”—covering the basement story with graceful arabesques, still sharp and clear, in which are interlaced loyal inscriptions in honour of his lord Bin Sâm. Aibak was a Mameluke, and a faithful servant while his lord lived; after the latter's death, however, he became independent at Delhi where he founded what is known as “the Slave dynasty.” In this line we may notice Shams-ud-din Altamsh, from 1211 to 1236 A. D., who continued to inhabit the old fortified city of Rai Pithora which he greatly beautified. After a variety of short reigns mostly ending in the murder of an imbecile sovereign by some unscrupulous Mayor-of-the-palace, Nasir-ud-din became king in 1246. A peaceful recluse, he reigned for twenty years and died in his bed without having distinguished himself in conduct or in fortune, either for evil or for good. This most unusual fact was due to the virtue and ability of his minister Ghaias-ud-din Balban. On the king's demise the minister succeeded without a struggle, and removed his residence to Kilokhari on the Jumna, a few miles eastward of the old city. He had been one of a band of Mamelukes known as “The Forty,” who had monopolised the power of the State during the recent weak dominion. But Balban was a different ruler, making examples, even among the brotherhood itself, where he thought that example was needed. He put the army on so sound a footing, that the incursions of Northern pagans which had become constant were rolled back and stayed, while provinces to the eastward were added to the Empire. Eventually, however, the king lost his son in battle with the Mughal marauders who had returned in force. They at the same time captured the celebrated poet Khusru (known as *Tota*, or “Parrot”) to whom we are indebted for a vivid picture of the savages to which further reference will be found hereafter. He was not personally molested by them, but was retained in captivity until his friends redeemed him by a heavy ransom. Balban died in 1286 and was succeeded by his great grand son Kai Kubád, a weak and dissolute youth whose murder soon after brought to an end the dynasty of the Mameluke, or “Slave kings.”

They were succeeded by an Afghan line known in history by their surname of “Khilji, of whom the first Jalal-ud-din was a feeble ruler for the founder of a dynasty. In his time the country suffered much, both from intestine commotions and from renewed irruptions of the Mughals. Having thus lost the confidence of his subjects he became the object of treasonable attempts; and was ultimately murdered by his own nephew A. D. 1296. The murderer became king under the title of Ala-ud-din, and reigned for twenty years. During the greater part of that time he dis-

played quite exceptional gifts, both practically and in the direction of art. He enlarged the great Mosque by the Kutb Minar, and demolished such of the Hindu monuments as had been spared by his predecessors. He also completed the outer defences, cementing the masonry with the blood of "thousands of goat-bearded Mughals" slaughtered for the purpose. But this grim builder was by no means inclined to trust for salvation to walls and bulwarks. The constant menace held over the country by the Northern hordes was not, he thought, to be encountered solely, or even principally, by defending the capital. He took more effectual measures of protection; first attacking the invaders when they appeared again in India, and then checking renewed invasion by erecting forts along the road of their advance. His farthest post of this sort was at Multan, and it was held by Ghāzi Malīk, his principal Commander, a half-bred Turk. Ultimately Alā-ud-din became overwhelmed by disease and by the fatal ambition of an unworthy favourite by whom he was assassinated. The traitor made an unsuccessful attempt to carry on the administration, on the defeat of which a son of the late king was set on the throne. He was in turn murdered by a parasite of Hindu origin; and a period of confusion ensued, during which the Hindus obtained power by favour of the usurper. The rebels assumed possession of the capital where they held anarchic sway for five months.

Finally, the Government was assumed by the head of the army Ghāzi Malīk, who quelled the Hindu faction and became King in 1320 A. D. He removed the capital to a new site, south-east of the old city—the new residence of royalty was in a commanding position not far from the river. It was protected not only by the walls of Alā-ud-din but by still stronger fortifications of its own which still command the admiration of posterity. This capital he called Tughlakābād, after his own title Ghaias-ud-din Muhamed Tughlak; and it was intended apparently as a defence no less against the Mughals than against the Hindus, against whom moreover, he waged some distant war. But there was a third danger against which no walls could avail. After a reign of five years King Tughlak fell a victim to domestic treason.

His son, Juna Khān, to whose machinations this was due, has left his mark on history as *Khuni Sultan*, "the Bloody Lord." Barni, a chronicler, who knew him well, describes him as a monster of most peculiar type. Learned without the religious faith, which in those days accompanied Moslem learning able and accomplished without the slightest tincture of that humanity which men are always wont to expect as the concomitant of culture, he lived and died in peace, after a reign of fifteen years.

During this period a terrible famine fell on the country about Delhi, which the tyrant accordingly abandoned, dragging the miserable population away to the Deccan where he tried to plant the survivors in the district of Deogri. Here he built the grand castle of Daulatábád which still stands sternly on a precipitous rock rising a thousand feet above the surrounding plain. He then tried to re-people the Dehli territory from the adjacent districts of Upper India. General discontents ensued which he quenched by the most ruthless exhibition of rigour. He tried, however, to excuse himself to the historian. "I have no pleasure," he said, "in revolts, though men will have it that I cause them by my conduct. Nor am I to be turned from my system, either by revolt or by reasoning. I inflict chastisement upon the bare suspicion of rebellious design, and repay with death the most trifling symptoms of contumacy." On another occasion, towards the end of his reign, he so far gave way as to contemplate abdication. "I am angry with my people," so he told Barni, "no treatment of mine makes them better. My remedy is the sword, so that the disorder may be cured by suffering. The more they rebel the more I punish." There is something inexpressibly lifelike in these apologetic utterances, as of a despot without present control anticipating the judgment of posterity.

Juna (Tughlak II.) died in 1340 and was succeeded by a cousin whom he had educated for the post. This ruler, Firoz Sháh Tughlak, was one of those virtuous and amiable men who appear in the darkest times as if to vindicate the capabilities of human nature. His first care, as he tells us in his *Memoirs*, was to bury his deceased patron in a magnificent tomb. "I sought out," he adds, "all those who had been maimed by my departed lord, and the surviving kindred of those who had been put to death by his orders. These I compensated and took from them certificates of forgiveness which I placed by him in the grave." One can hardly fail to be touched by the thought of a despotic ruler thus providing a dead benefactor with vouchers for the great Audit. In a similar spirit he selected the names of his most distinguished predecessors and ordered them to be recited in the weekly worship of the mosques before his own. His next care was to complete the structures that they had left unfinished. Not till then did he begin building on his own account; his labours including the enormous new city of Firozábád. This extended from the old bridge still standing south of Indrapat to the site of the modern house known as Hindu Rao's that stands upon the ridge north of the modern town of Sháhjahán. It contained no less than eighty

principal places of public worship, and the population may be estimated at not much short of half a million. As we shall see presently even this good and great monarch was unable to recognise the claims of the Hindus who formed the majority of his subjects; but intolerance was not then considered a fault in a ruler, either in Asia or in Europe.

In his old age Firoz abdicated, and for any good purpose the Tughlak dynasty soon ceased to exist. In 1397 the famous Taimur (Tamerlane) came down on the land. By this time the Northerners had embraced Islâm, but their conversion does not seem to have mitigated their ferocity. All the cities of the Dehli plains were sacked, and a multitude, vaguely computed at 100,000, gratuitously butchered.

Taimur then returned to Turkestan, retaining a nominal sovereignty over India. The Empire soon, in actual fact, shrank to the dominions of a petty principality which left but few traces and gave way to a revised Afghan power, under the line of Lodi, which showed a little more vigour. The capital was removed to Agra where some buildings of the time are pointed out. This dynasty was brought to an end by the famous Timuride, Mohamad Zahur-ud-din Bábar in A. D. 1519-25, when Ibrahim Lodi was overthrown and killed at Panipat.

In the long period of sin and sorrow of which a hasty view has here been shown, it is not possible to think of the state of the people as other than wretched. Massacred by the Mughals, massacred by their own Moslem fellow-countrymen, driven from their homes, deprived of all outward attributes of citizenship, debarred the public exercise of their religion, they clung the closer to the faith of their fathers, and preserved, under all oppression, the fabric of their hereditary institutions. Of their rulers we have records, chiefly in connection with wars and architecture, the crimes of violence which they committed in seizing power, and the crimes of violence to which they in their turn were exposed at the hands of those by whom they were supplanted. Of the state of the Hindus who formed the bulk of the people, the Mahamadan chroniclers tell us but little; their short and wasted opportunity at the end of the Khilji dynasty was soon quenched in blood; but the very occurrence of such a rising among a people usually so apathetic and submissive, seems indicative of long previous misery. Evidently they suffered alike from the wickedness of their rulers and from the weakness, alike from the ravages of the Mughals and from the rapine of the royal Ministers. But they are not generally a complaining people, and they are not writers of history, so that we must be content with reasonable conjecture. One remarkable sign of the times remains. Two of the

text-writers still admitted as authorities on Hindu Law in Northern and Southern India respectively, wrote in the beginning of the 14th century, when the first of the Tuglaks was making war in both countries, in the Deccan and in Tirhoot.* Such is the Hindu character that it requires social regulations in the midst of oppression and calls for codes even through the clash of arms. The probability, therefore, is that the Hindus lived there much as they have lived since, without much active discontent, regarding both invaders and domestic masters as they regarded famine and the small-pox—a burden and mysterious dispensation to be accepted with all the other loads laid on them by an inexorable fate. They pursued their needful avocations, so far as the trouble allowed, according to the usages to which they stuck like the traveller in *Æsop* whom Boreas vainly undertook to strip. Founded, like the primitive societies of their Western kinsfolk, on the integer of the family-corporation, their society maintained the system that seems now so strange, but which is still administered by their modern rulers after so many other things have changed. We have seen them producing texts and commentaries on their law; as to procedure they were doubtless left to themselves no less. The very contempt that, as in the parallel case of the Osmanlis in Greece, kept the conquerors from studying the customs of the conquered, preserved to the latter their autonomy.

These archaic systems—of themselves sufficient to make India one of the most interesting countries in the world—will be found ably summarised in Mr. J. D. Mayne's excellent work on *Hindu Law*. They display in full operation ideas and mental habits which in Europe had died out before the age of Justinian. In British India, it is true, the remedies provided by this system are now obtainable by forms of action as regular as those of an English Chancery-suit; and the action is conducted before trained Judges by the aid of a trained Bar. The tendency of the Courts has been to treat the Hindu Law as an enactment of the State, and even to extend its principles to non-Aryan races; while the relief afforded is enforced by the strength based on an unconquered army. The legal literature of the time with which we are dealing leads to the conclusion, that mediæval India got on without such machinery. Yet it can hardly be supposed that the law was equally efficacious when the suit took the form of an act of private distraint, when the Court consisted of five old ploughmen, and when the execution of the degree

* v. Prof. Rajkumar Sarvadhikari's VII.) Calcutta, 1882.
Hindu Law of Inheritance (Lecture

was left to public opinion, supported only by spiritual penalties. But, if the Hindu Society suffered from the neglect of the Government, still more must the Government have suffered by losing the chief means of connecting itself with the thoughts and affections of the people.

During this period originated the Urdu language, an application of Western Prakrit to the use of all classes, which is still growing, and which promises to become the *lingua franca* of the whole peninsula. Using, as it does, the Perso-Arabic character, and borrowing words impartially from all the tongues around, this copious dialect is a proof that considerable intercourse must have even then existed between the conquerors and conquered. In fact it is a symptom similar to that presented by the Norman adoption of a modified English in the reigns of the Plantagenets.

We can form no estimate of the revenue or population under the early Turkish and Pathán rulers of Upper India. We do not know either the exact value of their money, or the exact extent of their territories. Their integer of account was called "silver *tanka*" of which we can only conjecture that it was an approximate equivalent of the more recent "Rupee." Firoz Sháh tells us, that he remitted a number of taxes amounting to three millions of this coin annually, but he adds that he extended the *jizia* (capitation-in-lieu-of-death) to Brahmins who had previously been exempted, and whom he assessed at 10 *tankas* per head. In other ways he showed the same intolerance; he informs us that he destroyed Hindu temples wherever he found them, and put to death those who adhered to the public worship of idols after due warning. So difficult is it for the best of statesmen to rise above the level of his party and his age. The following appear from the memoirs of this Sovereign to have been the chief, if not the only, sources of revenue:—

1st.—The *Khirdj*, a tithe on agricultural produce, levied from all classes of cultivators.

2nd.—The *Jizia*, or capitation levied from heretics and unbelievers.

3rd.—The fifth of war-prize, and of the outturn of mines.

The revenue, however, was probably assessed in a very fluctuating and capricious manner. Many new taxes must have found their way into the budget between the palmy days of the Patháns and those of the Mughals; for Akbar abolished, it is said, no less than fifty-eight items soon after his accession, inclusive of the *jizia*, which had come to be collected without any practical limit beyond the power of the people to pay and of the collectors to extort. The latter had, under the Patháns, been wont to realise with every circumstance of barbarity and humiliation. Barni, the chronicler, to whom we are indebted for the second

Tughlak's curious apologies, represents a grave Kâzi of the period giving the following opinion as to the duty of revenue payers and officers :—

“ When called on to pay taxes the Hindus are to do so with all humility and submission. Should the collector show a wish to throw dirt in their faces, they should open their mouths to receive it. In such wise should they stand before the collector ; the object whereof is to show the obedience of subject infidels, to promote the glory of Islam, and to express our contempt for false religions ; for the Korân says they should either accept Islâm, be killed, or be enslaved. It is only we followers of Abu Hanifa, in fact, who have been able to substitute* the *jizia*. In all other schools the rule is—‘ Islâm or Death ! ’ “ It was, no doubt, evident even to dull bigots like this Kazi, that this tax was in the circumstance, the only possible alternative to perfect toleration. You cannot slaughter the entire population of a continent. Nevertheless some of the measures taken to make Hindus weary of their creed went very far.”

With rulers of that sort on one side, and with a very considerable lack of protection against the Mughal invasions on the other, it is clear that the people of Hindustan were between the devil and the deep sea. If anything could be conceived worse than the Moslem rulers of the country in the early middle ages, it would be the non-Moslem invaders who constantly came down to plunder it from Central Asia.

The great Tartar conqueror Temujin, known to history by the title of Jengziz (Changhez) Khán, died A. D. 1226, and was succeeded in the lands on the North of the Oxus by Chaghtai his second son. Soon after which we begin to hear of the incursions into Upper India ; and for nearly two centuries the chronicles are full of the cruel ravages of a fierce, filthy, pagan enemy, of whose appearance and manners a picture by an eye-witness has come down to us. About A. D. 1287 the poet Khusru—as already mentioned—returned from captivity among these “ Mughals ” (or “ Turks of Kai* ” as he also calls them) and gave a description of them as wearing sheepskin helmets and leather armour scarcely to be distinguished from their natural hides. According to the poet's scared view, they had faces like fire and eyes like gimlets, an odour more terrible even than their colour, short necks, wrinkled cheeks, wide noses and mouths, long moustaches and scanty beards, their chests swarmed with vermin, and their food was pig's and dog's flesh. Making allowance for national antipathy this is a scarcely charged picture of Tartar “ Braves ” as still described by

* This is a pun : *Kai*, besides being “ vomiting,” the name of a Tartar tribe also means.

Chinese travellers. We learn from Marno Polo, however, that these unattractive people were in search of a religion ; and not long after they began to embrace Muhamadanism. Less than two hundred years later we find them handsome, learned, and highly orthodox Moslems, with stately manners and bushy beards ; somewhat disposed, moreover, to repudiate their tribal designation.

In this transformation, which is one of the most complete and rapid of which we have any record, we see that Asiatics are by no means incapable of progress. At its conclusion, Babar headed a Mughal invasion of India totally different from what that country had previously known by the name. Contemporary drawings and writings show us the followers of Babar as a jovial crew of men-at-arms, with fair and ruddy complexions, and unveiled wives, delighting in golden armour and brocaded raiment, using artillery and generalship in warfare, loving to carouse in the intervals of peace, in shady gardens, or by the banks of streams. The Mongolian savage of the frosty steppes had developed, in those few generations, a civilisation little, if at all, inferior to that of their Western contemporaries, the countrymen of Boccaccio and of Chaucer. Those who remained in Siberia had nothing left in common with the Indian Mughals, but the foundation of the old Turki speech.

If this be admitted, as it probably will be by most of those who study the subject, we shall be better able to understand why the term "Mughal" at this time acquired a dyslogistic sense in India. Babar, though claiming descent from Changhez and Mughal Khan, is loud in abuse of the Mughals. And his successors—though known as Mughals to their Indian subjects—applied to themselves and their countrymen, to their race and their dynasty, the name of Chaghai, Changhez Khan's second son.

The life and adventures of Babar are well known through English and French versions of his autobiography. Their recapitulation here would not throw much light on our present subject. It is, however, proper to remark in passing, that Babar abstained from the fanatic hostility towards unbelievers that had hitherto been a part of all Muhamadan policy in India. It is true, that this abstention was due rather to motives of policy and of contempt than to any spirit of toleration in the abstract. Still less was it due to any special admiration of the character and manners of the Hindus as known to him. The conqueror's bad opinion of his new subjects has been so often quoted, that a few sentences are all that can be required here :—

"Hindustan," says Babar, "is a country that has but little to recommend it. The inhabitants are not good-looking ; they have no idea of social pleasures or of friendly intercourse ; they

have no genius or comprehensive ability, no polish of manner, amiability or sympathetic feeling ; no ingenuity or mechanical inventiveness, no architectural skill or knowledge ; they have no decent houses, no good fruit, ice or cold water ; their markets are not well supplied ; they have neither public baths or colleges ; neither candles nor candlesticks. If you want to read or write at night, you must have a filthy fellow standing over you with a flaring torch."

Such is what, after four centuries of misrule, an intelligent observer had to say of the Hindus. He died before he could correct any mistakes in his opinion or effect any improvement, and his body was taken all the way from Agfa to Cabul for sepulchre, as if the hated land of exile was not good enough to hold his bones. But the fortunes of his son, Humaiun, gave startling proof that the Chaghtai dynasty must exercise a final choice between a mere marauding existence like the conquests of the earlier Mughals and an undertaking of sustained vigour. Civilised as they were, the Turkmans had not lost the frivolity and love of ease that had characterised their barbarian ancestors. They were overthrown by a Hindustani soldier-of-fortune named Sher Khân, and driven out of the country, a very few years after the death of Bábar (A. D. 1541.) And this adventurer assuming the government displayed in civil administration the same efficiency that he had shown in war. His biography, written after the restoration of the Chaghtais and under the inspiration of one of their princes, can hardly be suspected of wilful flattery. From it we learn that, while yet a petty district officer, Sher Khân evinced the mixture of humanity with energy that must always form the best guarantee for the success of an arbitrary ruler. On assuming charge he assembled his subordinates and notables. To the former he said, "I have set my heart on the improvement of this district, and in that object your own interests are as much concerned as is my reputation. I am well aware that success depends at last upon the humble peasantry. I know also the covetousness and oppression from which they often suffer. I have for these reasons determined to make the assessments by measurement of the land, and have laid down the fees for collection. And I give you warning that, if I find you exacting more, I shall be always present at the audit, and shall debit you with the excess in my accounts." After a few instructions as to the opposite fault of allowing a just demand to fall into arrear, he turned to the village elders, and bade them come at once to himself whenever they had complaints to make, for he would allow no one to oppress them. They were even to pay in kind or in cash according to their own convenience.

As he began in this comparatively humble position, so did

Sher Khán continue to act after attaining supreme power. Yet even he, whatever the reason, hardly rose to the office of legislation, the highest duty of a Sovereign. In the first place, he was a devout Moslem; and the whole spirit of the Moslem system, as a closed and perfected Revelation of Divine will and human duty, is opposed to lawgiving by an earthly ruler. And further, Sher Khán (or Sher Sháh as he was called after he became a monarch) had too short a reign, and one too much occupied with war to allow leisure for deep social reform. Yet the nature of the attempts attributed to him shows that some sense of the real necessity of the situation was in the air. His ordinances touched on almost all the primary parts of administration. Thus, if thefts or robberies could not be brought home to the actual offenders, the heads of the commune in whose borders the crime occurred were held answerable; that is to say, if they failed to satisfy the authorities that the offenders had found harbour elsewhere. This may seem a rude method; but in the hands of competent administrators it would have its uses. Still more was such responsibility enforced where the crime had been complicated with murder. Protective measures were not omitted, walled enclosures being provided along the main roads where travellers could rest at night, with their property secure about them. If any such died upon a journey, their goods were taken care of until the heirs could be found. Customs were only levied twice, on the frontier and in the market: a vast advance upon the usage of the time by which toll was too often taken from the merchant at every possible opportunity. Officials were ordered to make their own private purchases in open market and at full market rates, another significant regulation more easily enforced than might be supposed, by reason of the publicity of their position and the number of colleagues and subordinates interested in getting public men into trouble. One great source of trouble to the people of Eastern countries arises from the tours of officials; and, still more, from the march of troops. To reduce this evil to a minimum Sher Sháh, on his line of march, inspected the crops and placed in the fields mounted sentries strictly charged with their protection. "I have heard," says a historian who knew one of the ministers of that reign, "that the King used to look out right and left; and, if he saw any one injuring a crop, he would cut off his ears with his own sword, then parading him round the camp with the stolen corn hanging from his neck." The owners of the injured fields were immediately compensated; and even in an enemy's country neither the people nor their property was molested. For the Sháh observed, "The cultivators are not to blame, they do but submit to those in actual power; and if

they are driven away by ill-treatment, our conquests will be of little profit." This explanation, by the way, deserves notice as indicating that the tillage was then dependent upon a scantily supplied labour market and a sparse population.

But enough has been said to show what a change was begun by Sher Sháh. When we remember that, soon after the Chaghtai restoration, many of his officials were retained in Akbar's service, it will be seen that to Sher Sháh is due the credit of having originated the attempt made by the mediæval rulers of India to do their duty to the country. Akbar, however, deserves his share of credit for following so good an example, and especially when set by a successful enemy. So far, indeed, did he carry his admiration for the deceased, that he personally ordered the writing of the biography of his father's conqueror to which we have been indebted for our extracts.

Sher Sháh was killed by an accident ; and the Turkmans came down from Cabul and reinstated themselves in Delhi and Agra. Humaiun did not long survive the restoration : ere he had time to do any thing the Emperor died ; and his eldest son found himself Emperor under the title of Muhamad Jalal-ud-din Akbar A. D. 1556. He was then very young, but after the first few years of consolidation (during which the immigrant noblesse were reduced to their proper position) the empire was for the time brought into a state of peace. For nearly half a century fairly tranquil times prevailed, during which Akbar maintained a constant struggle against the preponderance of Islam ; studied the laws and religious systems of the natives ; and opened the highest public posts to the best qualified men, without distinction of blood or belief. Seldom, perhaps never, has India had such a chance.

Our knowledge of Akbar's administration is chiefly derived from the writings of Abul Fazl, Allami, who was to him something like what Sully was to Henri IV. Some English writers who have not allowed for the characteristic insobriety of oriental rhetoric and for this writer's special enthusiasm, have thrown doubt on the Allami's testimony as that of a courtier bent on gross and indiscriminate adulation. But we know enough of the natures of both master and minister (even from hostile evidence) to show that this estimate would be just to neither. Badaoni, a bigoted Moslem, to whom Akbar's conduct was an abomination, has to give high praise to his character. Of Abul Fazl another equally orthodox writer admits that he was "a man of lofty soul who desired to live at peace with all men." That he was no mere flatterer is also clear from his end ; for it was brought about by his fidelity in making an unfavourable report of the Heir Apparent by which he at once displeased the father and incurred the deadly resentment

of the son : indeed, it was by that son's contrivance that he was soon after put to death. The late Mr. Blochmann, who had studied these times more thoroughly than any other European, says, that he finds the charge of flattery "utterly unfounded." He adds that, "if we compare Abul Fazl's works with other historical productions of the East, we shall find that when he praises he does so infinitely less, and with much more grace and dignity, than any other Indian writer." It is further observable that he never became a Mansabdar, or Peer of the realm, but lived and died, like Pitt and Canning, without what are commonly called "honours."

Among other traits that Abul Fazl ascribes to his hero—and such, in every sense, was Akbar to him—is a humane innovation on the laws of war as then known in the East, and not there alone. The wives, children and dependants of a vanquished foe were no longer to be enslaved when they fell into the hands of officers and soldiers of the imperial army, but were to be left absolutely free to go where they pleased, either to their own homes, or to those of their kindred. Akbar was but twenty years of age when he laid down this humane principle. Next year he applied himself to the burdens of his own people, and remitted a lucrative tax that used to be levied from Hindu pilgrims visiting their sacred shrines. This, said the Emperor, was their way of worshipping the Almighty, and to throw obstacles in that way could not be pleasing to the object of their worship. In the following year (A. D. 1564) a still more important concession was made by repealing the odious *jizia*, or poll-tax, on unbelievers. We do not know what was its amount ; but supposing there were ten million heads of families, and they paid annually ten rupees a head, we may perhaps form a fair idea of the nature of the concession. This tax was not reimposed for more than a hundred years ; and its reimposition powerfully helped to precipitate the fall of the Empire.

It is further remarkable that all this indulgence to the Hindus who formed the majority of the population was shown before any person of that race had risen into high office. It was not until the year succeeding the repeal of the *jizia* that Todur Mal—a Hindu who had served under Sher Shâh—was engaged in Akbar's Chancery. The Emperor had certainly married a Hindu princess a year or two earlier, and that may have influenced his feelings towards the whole race. But the very act of taking a wife from among the unbelievers was a bold and original step, such as none of Akbar's predecessors had ever attempted. We learn that all the Hindu members of the household were allowed the free exercise of their religious observances. Towards the latter part of

his reign the Emperor reproached himself for not having gone far enough in the path of toleration when young. His sentiments, as recorded by Abul Fazl, are evidently the result of thought and experience; but even when young there is no reason to believe that he exercised any other than moral means. He confessed, however, that he had erred in using his position to make Hindus apostatise; but he said that he was now convinced that Mohamad's followers had no advantage. "To be circumcised," said Akbar, quite in the spirit of St. Paul, "to patter a creed, to lie prone upon the ground in terror, all this can avail nothing in the sight of God :—

"In outward homage worship is not shown,
Looks are but looks, truth lies in deeds alone."

Two years after Todar Mal's original engagement he was made Head of the Treasury; and he shortly afterwards submitted to the Emperor a fiscal code which Abul Fazl praises highly. It is unnecessary to go into details, which are to be found in books that are generally accessible. From independent sources it appears that the final result of these measures was the following: In the fortieth year of the reign the territories of the Empire extended from Balkh to the Bay of Bengal, and from the banks of the Brahmaputra to the borders of Berar. The revenue amounted to about ten *krors* of Rupees. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, a high Revenue officer of the time, confirms the estimate of the *Ain-Akbari*, saying that the whole country yielded a revenue of six hundred and forty *krors* of copper *tankas*. The copper *tanka* is not mentioned by other contemporary writers; but I believe it to have been the 64th part of the silver *tanka*, or Rupee. "The ruling silver *tanka*," says Mr. Thomas, though he takes a different view of the result, "was never divided in practice by any number but sixty-four" (*v. Chronicles of Pathan Kings*.) Whether there were any articles of separate revenue not here included would be difficult to decide. We have seen that Akbar took off the poll-tax and the pilgrim-tax. He is said to have remitted fifty-eight items in all; we cannot, therefore, assert with safety that there was any more revenue raised than this. But it is more than probable that a considerable part of the military forces was not paid out of this total, but consisted of men-at-arms and bowmen who followed the grandees. These took rank according to the number of horsemen they were supposed to furnish; and, so far as this represented a reality, it was doubtless a sensible relief to the Imperial Exchequer.

In the 28th year of his reign Akbar gave a proof of his consistent and intrepid humanity by personally rescuing a Hindu widow who was being driven against her will to burn herself

with her husband's body. The interested fanatics who were committing this foul crime threatened resistance; and the Emperor in spite of his rank seemed for a moment exposed to great danger: but his audacity prevailed. His guard coming up arrested the offenders; but the Emperor pardoned them after a short imprisonment, dismissing them to their homes with suitable admonition. Surely a king of men, this, and an example to Elizabeth and Philip, and Catherine de Medicis, his European co-civals.

But, in fact, there was that working in the minds of the Emperor and his friend which rendered them very indifferent to the practices, and the disputes which then seemed so important to most persons. The Emperor was an unlearned man, a soldier, a sportsman, above all, a lover of his kind who had found an almost boundless field for well-doing. The wrangling and fierce antipathies of religious teachers were shocking to him. As a modern poet has said, he felt that he

"Was called upon to exercise his skill
Not in Utopia, subterranean fields,
Or some secreted Island—Heaven knows where—
But in this very world which is the world
Of all of us; the place where, in the end,
We find our happiness—or not at all."

[Wordsworth.]

As for his Minister, we are informed by the orthodox writer already quoted that:—

"It was often asserted that Abul Fazl was an infidel, a Hindu, a fire-worshipper, a free-thinker, or perhaps an Atheist. But, it is a juster sentence to say that he was a Panthiest, who (like other *Sufis*) thought himself above the Prophet's law."

It was a strange alliance, that of the bold, boy-hearted hero with the gentle yet adventurous philosopher charged with all available learning: and one can hardly avoid wonder that, between them, they met with no better success. For a time, indeed, all promised fairly—as we shall presently see—but the Reformers had two invincible antagonists, Superstition and Stupidity. And, farther, they suffered from the irremediable want of such a state of society as their's—the want of political organisation and valid institutions to preserve and consolidate their reforms. The Parliaments of the Tudors may not seem to us to have been very independent bodies. But their very existence ensured a certain amount of durability: and thus we obtain another sign of the need that all good Government has of the legislative faculty.

The illustrious scholar who, under the title of "Graf F.

"A. v. Noer" is giving so much attention to the history of Akbar, has devoted an interesting study to this branch of the subject; and we cannot do better than avail ourselves of his abstract of the evidence, made in the light of the similar movements which is going on among European nations at the present day.*

The long reign of Akbar must have seemed to many who lived under it a time of awakening; it was a trouble and a rapture like that spoken of by Wordsworth. It proved, in fact, but the "false dawn" of which we read in Persian poetry. The age in which we now live shows similar phenomena; but there is reason to hope that it is the true dawn at last, and broadening to the perfect day. It may be useful, and cannot but be interesting, to observe what were the elements of the movement of three centuries ago in India, and what were the causes that deprived it of permanent success.

Writing with the case of Germany specially before him, Count v. Noer, thus characterises the *culturkampf* of the sixteenth century:—

"The old, ever-renewing, fight between free-thought and slavish dogma, between statesmanship and priest-craft! History sufficiently shows the spectacle of these struggles of the two mightiest forces in popular life. Often has secular power entered into alliance with the hierarchy: often has it made concessions thereto: only a few have possessed the force and the will to throw down the gauntlet altogether."

If such encounters tax the boldest and most earnest rulers in civilised societies of the progressive type, what must be the difficulty when the conflict is with a system like that of the Arabian Prophet which bars progress by a foregone conclusion? In Islam we find the Church still obstructive and still influential to almost a greater degree than was the case with the Christian Church in the dark ages. "Faith and Law, Church and State, are here so identical in origin, so intimately blended with each other, that he who undertakes to shake the foundations of tradition must indeed find a sure position for himself if he would not bring the whole fabric in ruin on his head." (Noer.)

Long before Akbar's accession we have seen the State in complete alliance with the Musalman Church; the Colleges of the one were endowed by the other; the interpretation, (and, indeed, the administration) of the Law proceeded from the Students of the Scripture; and the Councillors of Prince and people were clothed in the authority of Heaven. One is

* *Kaiser Akbar*. Leiden—E. T. Brill, 1880-81.

apt to think of Akbar as an all-powerful despot : but the *ulama*—the clerical lawyers of his day—looked on him as the mere instrument of Divine Government, and there was no aspiration from the lower levels of society to act in concert with the royal revolt above. The spiritual life of the Empire lay almost as supine under the gradually consolidated power of fanaticism as the fabled Titan under Etha.

Two classes of allies, indeed, were available. Akbar probably derived from them his first impulse as he certainly did most of his subsequent energy. These were, first, the Persian immigrants ; and, second, the non-Musalman inhabitants of India.

Persia, where the people had of old incorporated on the Magian fire-worship a doctrine derived from the ancient Aryan Monotheism, had always offered to the Muhamadan propaganda an intelligent and an obstinate opposition. After the fall of the native dynasty and the vigour of the early Caliphs had combined to make Persia nominally a Moslem country, this element of the national character had set up several heretical tendencies. Even the visible church which professed outward conformity with Islam did so according to the views of the Shias, a minority who held to the hereditary transmission of the Caliphate and rejected a large part of the unwritten tradition of the Arabs. But, both within the pale of this visible church and without it, were heretical bodies of all sorts, down to blasphemers and atheists. Few more hold sayings are to be found than among the poets of this period. Take as an example, anything but extreme, this quatrain of the astronomer-poet of Khurasân—Umar Kháyâm :—

“ Though God's religion never was my care,
Nor for His coming did my heart prepare,
I still have hope to find the Mercy-Seat—
Because I never worried Him with prayer ”—

The dogmatic denial of the infinite was not usual, but there was a widely prevalent scheme—such as had much fascination for the Aryan mind in many times and places—the system which may be called Monism, or may be called Pantheism. That is to say, the conception of One sole existence, whereof all Nature is the many-hued manifestation : the “ immanent ” power of Spinoza, rather than the “ transcendental ” God of the semitic religions. To these general speculations at the period under notice had been added an expectation that the thousand years which had nearly elapsed (by lunar computation) since the date of the *Hijra*, would be terminated by the appearance of “ Mahdi,” the twelfth *Imâm*, or Apostle, who would close the existing dispensation.

A political crisis in Persia had sent a number of these sectaries into exile ; and many of them had sought refuge in India. Among them Shekh Mubárak and his gifted sons, Faizi and Abul Fazl,

had gained a footing at Court; and Akbar, who was already prepared for Persian influences by birth and education, was soon imbued by them with latitudinarian views.

But a further impulse was derived from Hinduism. We have already noticed ladies of this race in the household, and that they were allowed the exercise of their ancestral rites within the precincts of the palace. Thus exposed to a constant action from domestic intercourse, the Emperor was further stimulated towards that sympathy natural to a ruler who desired to make his people happy. Often under the still and starry sky of a summer-night would he sit upon a stone in the courtyard of his stately pleasure-house at Fathipur-Sikri, meditating on the problems of human life and the duties of a Sovereign. At other times, also by night, he would lean over the balcony of the *Khawáb-gâh* ("House of Dreams") in the same palace, while the Pandit Débi, swinging between heaven and earth in a basket hung from the parapet, initiated him into the mysteries of Vedic Nature-worship, or the subtle synthesis of the *Sankhya* philosophy. Modern travellers may still survey these semi-sacred scenes.

On the opposite side of the great enclosure visitors are shown a strange structure, commonly called the *Diwân-i-Khâs*. From the centre of the ground-floor rises a thick column, some ten feet high, on the top of whose capital a broad entablature is joined by four causeways to the four corners of the room: on the sides are four galleries, each communicating with the central entablature by one of the four causeways. It can scarcely be doubted that this is the *Idâdat-khâna* of contemporary writers with its four *atwâns* for the different classes of disputants; in one the *Ulama*—the orthodox heads of the established hierarchy,—in another the Shia teachers, in a third the heterodox thinker, in the fourth the courtiers and soldiers who represented the world. On Thursday nights the Imperial inquirer would take his seat, cross-legged, on a carpet spread in the centre of this massive cobweb, and act as moderator of the discussions. Often would passion rise, and the hot debate rage round the Emperor till the awakening land was thrilled with the dawn of day. Then, as the sun's broad disc rose rapidly above the horizon calling the simple rustics to their work in the fields beyond the park-walls, some free-thinking poet like Faizi would scandalise the bigots with an eclectic hymn. Of such productions, the following is an actually preserved specimen:—

1.

Come ! let us raise an altar to the Light
And lay, with stones from Sinai's summit brought,
For our new *Kâba* the foundation due.

2.

The ancient *Kâba*'s wall is broken down,
The basis of the *kibla* is removed,
On new foundations raise a lasting shrine.

But such a state of things could not last. No effervescence ever can last. As, a few years earlier, the passions of an English king had led to the overthrow of spiritual power in the West, so in India a more dignified motive was to make the monarch the resolver of controversy the Head of the Church and the Defender of the [new] Faith. In the month of September 1579 appeared a decree, signed by the chief heads of the different schools and parties, in which it was announced that, for the glory of God and the extension of true piety, the Emperor Akbar was recognised as supreme in all matters of belief and doctrine.

By the beginning of the year 1580 the change appeared complete. The chiefs of the orthodox party had been banished or put to death (Count v Noer is not deposed to admit that any executions took place on purely religious grounds; but if the Emperor used his power to remove opponents, there is perhaps no very material distinction); the use of Mahomedan names and formulas had been proscribed; Parsis and Hindus had been consulted; invitations had been addressed to the Jesuits of Goa. Mosques stood empty, or were used as town-halls or cavalry-stables. Three Jesuit missionaries had arrived at Court in February; and soon a small Catholic chapel arose at Agra, where there were already some Portuguese residents. An eclectic monotheism was proclaimed under the title of *Din Ilâhi*.

In 1585 thousands began to adopt the new system. The historian Budaomi—whom the Count calls “the oriental Procopius”—puts down these adhesions to personal interest; and doubtless the vulgar inducements of satisfaction to ambition and to avarice, would not be wanting. Nevertheless, in the short list of the principal disciples we do not find the names of the chief peers, ministers, and generals, but only those of literary and social adventurers, such as Bir, Bal, and Faizi; of whom some, indeed, rose to situations of trust, but of whom none equalled, in civil or military distinction, some of the Hindus and Mahomedans who refused to abandon their ancestral creeds, and to whom yet the Emperor continued his confidence. Amongst these we must especially notice Todar Mal, the Chancellor of the Empire, a rigid Hindu to the last. By-and-bye the attempted Reformation came to nothing, even before the reign was ended. It has been shrewdly observed by Blochmann that the reformation of Akbar failed for want of permanent political institutions. There was no Parliament to confirm the monarch’s decrees by the voice of public ratification, or to register them in the national archives. There was not even after Akbar’s decease an experienced and influential minister of State to hand on the tradition of Reform to the succeeding sovereign. Akbar outlived all his immediate

friends and followers, with the solitary exception of the Raja Mán Singh; and, Mán Singh though able in the field and an astute intriguer, had never shown any interest in the large schemes of his imperial brother-in-law; and, like Todar Mal, he remained through life a devout Hindu.

Another fatal flaw in Akbar's scheme was that it either went too far, or not far enough. It was the good fortune of the English Reformers of the same age, Henry VIII. Cranmer, and Elizabeth, that they were in accord with the general public feeling, and that they understood both where to innovate and where to arrest innovation. But, in the mixture of Hinduism, Sunworship, and Sufism, which the historians of Akbar miscall "Divine Monotheism," there was no distinct point of attraction for the Hindus. There was no doubt, a repudiation of the Semitic idea of God as a magnified Sultan of unlimited power and uncontrolled caprice: but there was not a distinct and philosophic acknowledgment of the Aryan idea, that of an immanent power received in human consciousness by means of the phenomena of Nature.

Abul Fazl, having (as above-mentioned) offended the Heir-apparent Prince Salim, was slain on returning from a special mission. The Emperor grieved sore; but Salim was then in rebellion and could not be punished: moreover the proud father seems to have always spoiled "Shekhu Baba," as he called his eldest son. He died about three years after his faithful minister and friend; and was succeeded by Salim. The Round-Table of India was dissolved, and there was no one to take up its noble hopes and projects. The new Emperor—by title Nur-ud-din Jahangir—was not indeed intolerant; but he was a selfish debauchee, bred in the purple, and full of the weaknesses incidental to that condition. During his reign no intellectual movement took place. Under his successor, the sumptuous Sháhjahán, the Empire was in equipoise. Beautiful architecture—of a somewhat effeminate character—is almost all that it left behind it; though the testimony alike of competent Asiatics and experienced European travellers corroborates the favourable estimate of the prosperity of the country recorded by Mr. Mount Stuart Elphinstone.

Then followed the bigoted and crafty Alamgir—or Aurangzeb as he is generally called by Europeans—and under him the Hindu and Christian officers were cashiered, the capitation was renewed after an abeyance of more than a century, and several provinces were added to the Empire. The revenue rose to treble the amount that had contented Akbar; but it proved a very bad investment. A threatening symptom, already, was the celebrated letter of the Rajput Chief (v. C. R. No. 142, p. 252,) dated in 1679. The warning was unheeded. Early in 1707 the aged tyrant passed away, uttering from his death-bed admissions of remorse for the

past, and anxiety for the future. He abstained from the usual practice of naming his successor, only bequeathing to "whichever of his sons was fortunate," the guardianship that he confessed himself to have abused. It was a legacy of strife and ruin.

The history of mediæval India ended as it had begun; in civil warfare, in Northern invasion, in flames of fire and swamps of blood. With many advantages—as compared with their immediate predecessors—the refined and humane Chaghtai monarchs had indeed given India a breathing-time of several generations. But they had founded no permanent institutions; and the last state of that land was as bad as the first. We have seen what was the aspect of the people as viewed by Bábar: we shall presently see what it was when the puppet heir of Bábar's sceptre had become a dependent of Hindu freebooters. The Mughal Empire had at last to undergo the fate that attends all the Empires of the East. The spider weaves her web in the halls of Afrasyáb.

Lawless, incoherent, indefinite in structure and co-ordination of parts, these States have never succeeded in following the true course of social evolution, or obeying the influences of political order. They have been the comets of the historical system; blazing brightly for a brief season, and then vanishing—usually to return no more. The Moslem power in India has added this peculiar evil, that it has neither been able to supersede nor to adopt the old Aryan arrangements of the country. Their own system too had, in an extreme degree, the faults that attend systems which for want of a better word, we may be permitted to call "Levitical." The Hindu law, indeed, claimed a spiritual origin, but it has always, with the practical good sense of the Aryan race, admitted variations of comment that have amounted to organic reform. The law professed in Bengal is essentially different, in many important points, from that followed in less civilised parts of India. But the Moslem system, while jumbling together the moral, ceremonial, and social precepts of an undeveloped community, precludes itself by its Divine claims from incorporating any new elements, whether spontaneous or borrowed from other races. Further, while their laws are not enacted by the temporal Sovereign, they are not administered in conformity with the popular conscience. Akbar's was the most serious attempt that a ruler of India ever made, down to the present century; and Akbar, as we have seen, did not succeed. The consequences to the people have been deplorable, and have continued to afflict them, even to the third and fourth generation.

Nothing can exceed the disorganisation of society as presented to us by Indian historians of the last century. Thus Dow, writing about 1775, and doubtless from native information, says that:—
 "The country was torn to pieces with civil war, and groaned

under every species of domestic confusion. Villainy was practised in every form ; all law and religion were trodden under foot ; the bonds of private friendship and connections, as well as of society and government, were broken ; and every individual, as if amidst a forest of wild beasts, could rely upon nothing but the strength of his own arm. ”

Similar testimony is cited, from a native contemporary, by Tod, the historian of Rājasthān :—

“The people of Hindustan at this period thought only of present safety and gratification. Misery was disregarded by those who escaped it ; and man, centered solely in himself, felt not for his kind. This selfishness, destructive of public as of private virtue, became universal after the invasion of Nādir Shāh ; nor have the people become more virtuous yet, and consequently are neither more happy nor more independent. ”

These, it must be admitted, are frightful pictures of the past to which a population naturally amiable and intelligent could be brought by the faults of their rulers. The evil effects will long continue to be seen. We are told by Baillie Fraser, on the authority of the late Col. Skinner, C. B., who entered the Mahratta service about 1795, that the country had become almost depopulated :—

“So reduced was the actual number of human beings, and so utterly cowed their spirit, that the few villages that did continue to exist at great intervals had scarcely any communication with each other ; and so great was the increase of beasts of prey,—that the little communication that remained was often cut off by a single tiger known to haunt the road. ”

Of the moral character of this miserable remnant, we have the following trenchant description by a shrewd observer in the early part of the present century :—

“They are the most deceitful, mischievous race of people that I have ever seen or read of. I have not yet met with a Hindoo who had one good quality, and honest Mussulmans do not exist. ”
—(See Wellington's *Supplementary Despatches*, 1797 to 1805.)

When we look around in the India of to-day, we can hardly believe that we live among the grand-children of the people thus described. In British India the people are as numerous, per square mile, as in Belgium ; roads, railways and canals reticulate the map ; three universities (to which a fourth is now being added) send out graduates yearly ; a large revenue is punctually realised ; India, in a word, is under the reign of Law.

What we have called the “Levitical ” system will not produce that result. Like Akbar, Solomon stands isolated in the history of his country. This conception of the regulation of human conduct has probably existed, and for sufficient reasons, in most primitive

states of society. Even in Europe it long struggled against the conception which may be termed "Political." It led the latter into an unholy alliance, as when spiritual courts were allowed to hand over spiritual offenders to the secular arm. It still lurks as a latent poison in many civilised systems. But in the ordinary affairs of life it has almost entirely ceased to act among progressive races ; and races have progressed in proportion as it has been suppressed. Throughout all lands, occupied or ruled by such races, it is recognised that the business of the State is to issue and enforce the ordinance of civil conduct. Law, as defined in Littré's Dictionary, is "a prescription emanating from the sovereign authority," and what that authority allows it practically enacts, disobedience being abated by exemplary consequences proceeding from the same source.

The early Romans, incorporating their *jus civile* into edicts and codes, modified by the *jus gentium*, developed a body of law that has been substantially adopted by many modern States. The early English, while excluding from ordinary affairs the texts of Roman law, yet admitted the ground principle by codifying (in their rude way) the common Law of their pagan forefathers, under King Alfred and his successors. Such, indeed, was the vitality of this system, originally tribal, that it was adopted by the Anglo-Norman nationality in the thirteenth century and has ever since continued to be the basis of all statutory evolution. But what suits one people will hardly ever suit another. In the settlement of their Irish conquests the English would not abdicate their legislative functions as the Moslems did in Greece and India. Hence they found themselves compelled to adopt one out of two alternative courses. They could either give sanction to the indigenous, or "Brehon" code, leaving the local courts to modify it from time to time as occasion might arise ; or they could sweep it away and introduce their own system. They chose the second, though they have carried it out with some vacillation, and both countries may long rue the choice. In India the firmer and wiser course has been adopted ; and the omens are favourable to its success. Though a more recent conquest, both vaster in extent, more foreign, and more truly formidable, this country has been found an easier one to govern than Ireland. For it affords the spectacle of a number of long anarchic tribes accepting the re-enactment of their ancient laws by an alien and a distant sovereign, and submitting to sanctions such as their own system never contemplated. It was the rejection or neglect of this method that did the chief mischief in Ireland as in mediæval India ; and so caused anarchy to succeed Akbar and Shahjahan in the one country as it has succeeded Cromwell and William of Orange in the other.

ART. II.—AGNOSTICISM.

(*A Study.*)

THE object of this paper is not to establish any cherished scheme of faith or morals, or to prove the truth or falsity of any theological doctrine. I desire to offer, for the consideration of all who will not deem the discussion foolish or impious, a few suggestions on certain important topics, with the hope that what is here written may possibly serve as aids to reflection; and that I may be able to present a sketch, and to some extent a justification, hasty and at the best imperfect, of a mode of thought in the condemnation of which many divergent schools of thought find their single point of union. To attempt a full treatment of the subject is beyond the scope of my present purpose, and such an essay would involve a disquisition of greater length than can be allowed to this article. Nor shall I fail in my purpose even if I am unable to add to the stock of original ideas—ideas on the grave questions—with which I have to deal. It will suffice, if I may in some measure aid in the diffusion, among readers who have neither leisure nor inclination for the study of voluminous works, of the results attained by previous enquiry. And in the first place, I would premise that for those who are convinced of the saving truth of Christianity, or, indeed, of any other religion, and who, perhaps necessarily, deem the discussion of their cherished doctrines a dangerous diversion, these pages are not written. Far be it from me to attempt to shake the basis of a faith, unsustainable though I conceive the fabric to be, which affords to any man strength in the day of conflict, consolation in the time of trouble, and a hope in the hour of death. But already the fortress has been assailed, already the outworks are in the hands of the enemy, and it may tend to the peace of some anxious minds to suggest grounds for the belief that, when the citadel of faith has fallen, there will even then be no reason to despair of the republic. To those who claim the title of rationalist, I offer no apology for this paper.

At the commencement of our enquiry, it is necessary to come to an understanding as to the meaning to be attached to the term agnosticism. The word indicates not a theological system; least of all a dogmatic faith. Of all imaginable *isms* it makes the fewest demands upon its adherents, agnosticism holds out no promise of reward to believers, no threats of damnation to infidels. It consists in the mere recognition of certain apparent facts, in the acknowledgment of certain intellectual phenomena. In its ultimate analysis, it is merely a mode of thought. The

agnostic thinker holds the doctrine that, owing to the limitation of our faculties, we can have no knowledge of any thing supernatural, of any thing existing beyond the sphere of our consciousness; and that we have no warrant for believing that at any future time are we likely to acquire such knowledge. Further, he is convinced, that there is not sufficient evidence to induce him to admit that the consciousness of any individual, or collection of individuals, has ever penetrated beyond the phenomena of the external world. The agnostic requires evidence before he allows himself to yield his assent to any proposition. It must not be supposed, and but that the supposition has been made by shallow writers, it would seem scarcely needful to make the reservation, that any agnostic, worthy of the name of a thinker, requires the direct evidence of his own senses to prove every fact. It is not some special kind of evidence that he requires, but evidence of any nature sufficient to justify belief. Failing such testimony all the doctrines of theology all the dogmas of the schools, all the more or less pleasing conception of the existence and attributes of a god or gods, of the persistence of life beyond the grave, and of the conditions of that life, are for the agnostic mere assumptions. On these questions, he considers the evidence insufficient. It should be noted, however, that he does not therefore deny the possibility of the truth of any of these opinions. Of all the means by which it has been sought to dethrone the reason and to degrade the majesty of the free spirit of man, than dogmatic belief, dogmatic infidelity alone is baser. An agnostic does not deny the truth of any proposition, because he cannot see sufficient reason to accept it. He merely withholds his assent. From the intellectual and moral quibbles of positive denial, he steers clear. His attitude is essentially negative. To his view, the human race is enclosed, not in the cavern of Plato, with shadowy reflections of the ideal for its only realities, but in a space surrounded by an unscalable wall and covered by an impenetrable canopy, with all that is real within, and with no present means or future prospect of attaining knowledge of that which is without. Thus, rightly understood, agnosticism directly contradicts no system of religious belief. Any of the religions of the peoples of the earth may be true. It is perfectly possible that all are true; that all honest faith will be realized. Within a boundless universe is boundless better, boundless worse. The good Christian may, after his death, find the reward of his devotion in a crown of gold, a palm-branch, and a harp; and may prolong a blissful eternity in singing psalms and forming one of a seraphic procession. While the bad Christian, the man

who professed the creed and believed its threats and promises without that saving faith which gives a title to a mansion in the sky, may meet with what he is bound to consider his deserts by lying transfixed through endless ages on a bed of burning fire, rained upon by unquenchable fire. The hour of dissolution may transport the pious Musalman to the paradise of his dreams; and in the enjoyment of the society of Húrís "ever fair and young" he may find an eternity well spent. The devout Buddhist, who has observed the spirit and the letter of the Law may find death a release from the misery, change, and transitoriness of life, and a passage to the sacred and mysterious rest of Nibán; while his erring brother, who knew the good and sought it not may pass through other ills and learn by bitter experience the misery of existence before he attains the same blessed consummation. Why should not even the poor Indian's untutored mind be also a mirror of the truth, and his eternity be passed in a happy hunting-ground with his faithful dog to bear him company? And why should not our own Norse fathers, the sons of Thor and Odin, be at this moment in the enjoyment of Valhalla, drinking out of the skulls of their enemies and realizing to the full the sanguinary but congruous delights of which their earthly pleasures were but a faint shadow? Surely space is wide enough for each sect to have its peculiar heaven and hell, without infringing on the rights of others. These are but fancies. Yet, it would seem more reasonable to hold this doctrine as a fact than to vainly believe that, by the partial favour of an unjust Deity, a small section only of our race have attained absolute truth. Of no form of creed, it must be repeated emphatically, does the agnostic positively deny the truth. He but asserts that, for himself, he perceives no warrant to justify belief. This would seem to be a sufficiently modest and peaceable frame of mind. Yet all the sects, from that headed by the honoured names of Francis Newman and Charles Voysey to those rendered illustrious by the virtues and intellectual splendours of Wesleys, Stanley, Ryle, Liddon, Pusey, and John Henry Newman, unite in waging persistent, I will not say bitter, war against the unpretending band of thinkers who stand, apart from all, but actively opposed to none. Suspension of judgment, a purely intellectual act, should not, one might think, be the subject of special animadversion; and the fact of a man's inability to yield his assent to propositions which do not commend themselves to his reason ought not to lay him open to reprobation. And yet even the Theist, who claims for himself the fullest exercise of the right of private judgment, hesitates to extend the same privilege to one who, with equal sincerity and earnestness, arrives, by the means which he himself uses, at different results. The Catholic, who

holds as sinful all exercise of the reason in respect to the supernatural, though, by his judgment he blasphemes the giver of his mental faculties, has perhaps some ground for his condemnation. But that men who, whether within or without the pale of the Christian Church, lay claim to the title of the Rationalist, should so condemn us, would be inconceivable, had not the verdict been so often pronounced. Beyond the desire of seeking and expounding what he holds to be the truth, no one can it would seem, have any particular object in declaring himself an agnostic. The motives are obvious which may induce a man to profess a religion which he has not troubled himself to examine, of the truth of which he is not assured. Arrogant self-assertion, morbid vanity, or empty bravado, even the childish and futile notion that the expression of disbelief will in some way alter an unpleasant fact, may prompt the profligate and frivolous to deny the immortality of the soul, and may urge the fool to repeat with his lips the assertion he has made in his heart that there is no God. But it is difficult to see which of these motives could have weight to induce a man to humble the pride of intellect and confess that these things are beyond the scope of his faculties. The agnostic desires to try all things; and, after careful scrutiny and mature consideration, declares that he cannot find ground for fixing his faith in the dogmas of any theology. This does not, however, hinder him from being a man of exemplary life, and remarkable, as a jocular preacher said, after the return of a late exploring party, not like the North Pole, principally for its negation, but positively and actively as a power that makes for righteousness. In modern times, the most noticeable example of the agnostic condition of mind is John Stuart Mill, than whom, *pace the Church Times*, no saint in the calendar lived a more holy and actively virtuous life. Here we touch on the important question of the connection between faith and morality. The necessity for the consideration of this question is the justification of the article; and in the sequel I hope to shew some grounds for maintaining that belief in certain intellectual propositions is by no means essential to moral beauty of conversation; and that the religious sanction, although beyond doubt it has exercised a vast influence on ethics, has no necessary place in any rational system of morals. For the present, we may pass to a discussion of some of the more obvious bases on which agnosticism rests.

Three problems which have at all times engrossed the attention of thinkers are, the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, and the freedom of the will. A discussion of the last question would involve purely metaphysical considerations which are foreign to my present purpose. I shall therefore leave it

for a more convenient occasion ; and shall take leave to make the implicit assumption, which will probably be granted, that as a matter of fact, whether the human will be free or not, the greater part of the human race act as if they were free to choose their own course, and will continue so to do, however often and however clearly the fallacy of the presumption of free volition may be demonstrated. The former two questions have usually been deemed inseparable ; and a belief in the existence of God has been held to imply, of necessity, a belief in the immortality of the soul, and *vice versâ*. The reason of this is somewhat hard to understand. It would seem to be not more difficult to conceive that the Creator should, of His own will, or forced by the nature of the material with which He works, deny to man the gift of immortality, than to acknowledge that, willingly, or unwillingly, He allows the existence of pain and evil, the countless imperfections of nature, the mournful waste of strength and beauty which pervades the world. Nor does there appear to be any difficulty in supposing that, if the universe be capable of existence without external aid, the continuance of that existence to infinite time, under the same or under varying conditions, might be equally possible. It will be convenient, therefore, to consider these questions separately. And in the first place, let us discuss the grounds of the belief in the existence and attributes of God. It is unnecessary to undertake a full disquisition in detail upon the nature and value of the evidence which is produced in support of this belief. It will be seen, on consideration, that whatever evidence can be advanced falls naturally under the heads of historical, depending on revelation ; experimental, derived from the observation and study of natural phenomena ; and intentional the evidence presented by the mind itself. With the first head, we need have no concern. This wall has been already sufficiently battered ; the breach has long been practicable. To others may be left the task of examining what has already been accomplished, and deciding what remains to be done in respect to the evidence from revelation. Half a century hence, the discussion of the comparative value of the various revelations which have been accepted among civilized nations may possibly retain a shade of antiquarian interest. The experimental testimony has been dispassionately weighed, certainly with no leaning towards undue severity, by J. S. Mill in the unrevised essay on Theism. More value than is there allowed to this evidence will probably be granted by no intelligent student. And if this value is deemed worth a struggle to retain, I have no wish to depreciate it. It is on the ground of the intentional testimony that the battle with the more advanced thinkers, who still cling to the belief in a God,

must be fought. And to this point, our attention must be directed. I pass the discussion of the question whether or not intuitive ideas exist at all. Let us assume that there are such ideas. That all men have an intuitive conception of even the bare existence of a Deity is an assertion of which the truth has never been demonstrated. By its very nature it is incapable of exact proof. If this instinct actually exists, it might be expected that there would be some resemblance between the ideas of God entertained by all men. These ideas might differ in a thousand details, in strength, in clearness, in intensity; as there are innumerable differences between the individuals of any class of things. But in every class, there are some essential attributes by which every individual member of it may be recognized; and we may fairly ask what is the class-mark which differentiates the members of the class of innate ideas of God, what is the point of contact between the Buddhist idea of "the power not our selves which makes for righteousness," and the idea of God as conceived in the mind of an American revivalist? Other arguments, of perhaps greater force, which it is unnecessary to repeat, have been urged against the doctrine of intuitive evidence. The root of the matter may be reached by a concise statement of the question in the form which it assumes when subjected to careful analysis. There are only two possible ways of explaining the existence of all things. Either the universe, such as we know it by our perception of natural phenomena is self-existent; or it is the work of a self-existent external power. The former explanation is given by the materialist and by the Pantheist; the latter, by the theist and by the polytheist. But though a man may honestly accept as true either of these accounts, careful consideration will shew that each hypothesis is equally inconceivable. Attempt to grasp the meaning of the assertion either that the world is self-existent, or that the Deity external to the universe is self-existent; press the argument to its logical conclusion; and it will be found that the mind is absolutely incapable of conceiving either idea. As well may we try to conceive the end or the beginning of space or of time. Inconceivability, it has been often and justly said, is no test of truth. Indeed, in this instance, we have two ideas, each inconceivable, one of which, as far as we can see, must image forth the truth. As far as our minds are capable of realizing the conditions of the problem, no third solution is possible. But when it is plainly seen that both the explanations offered are unthinkable, a man may perhaps be pardoned for declining to assert or formulate his belief in either. This statement of the question gives no basis for dogmatic atheism; it as little affords a standpoint for dogmatic

atheism. But certainly, in the present state of our knowledge, it would seem to justify the refusal to yield assent to either proposition. This, as regards the belief in the existence of a deity is the final apology for Agnosticism.

But, even assuming for the sake of argument, that having reviewed the evidence, we feel in a position to affirm more or less positively our belief in the existence of a deity, if our belief is to be of any value, we must learn something of his attributes. The mere belief in the existence of a power external to the universe would not be cherished as a possession of great price. It will be admitted that we can only contemplate any thing as a collection of attributes. Of the mysterious something which underlies these, we know nothing; as far as we can see, the limitation of our faculties effectually prevents us from ever knowing anything. If we say we believe in the existence of God, we mean that we believe in the existence of something which possesses certain qualities. What means have we of knowing the attributes of God? The answer which has always been given to this question is that we must ascribe to God in an ideal degree, the highest attributes of his creatures. "He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? and "he that made the eye, shall he not see?" It has been invariably held impossible to imagine the existence of virtues in men, and not to perceive that the creator of these virtues must possess them to an infinite extent. Few of those who have cared to accompany me thus far will hesitate to admit that all religions are, and have been, anthropomorphic in their conceptions of the Deity. One of the Hebrew Psalmists recognized this long ago; and it has become a commonplace of polemics to remark that all nations have imagined their God as an idealized abstraction of the highest virtues recognized by them. It is equally true, though perhaps not so immediately perceived, that it is impossible that this should be otherwise. By his very nature a man is precluded from conceiving attributes differing in kind from those of which he himself is or may be possessed. But according to every hypothesis, man is finite, the Deity infinite. Yet the qualities proper to the former are unhesitatingly ascribed to the latter, and by every sect God is fashioned in the image of man. The Deist abjures for himself all pretensions to knowledge or conception of the divine attributes; yet he addresses his God or Father, and believes that he is good, just, loving, and merciful. More than this, He may and must be; less or other than this he cannot be. If any meaning whatever attaches to these words, God must be conceived as good with human goodness, just with human justice, merciful with human mercy. The qualities are idealized, as the forms of their divinities were idealized by the Greeks, but they are, after all, but the

forms and qualities of man. The Calvinist is more consistent, in ascribing to God's justice and mercy the predestination of a large portion of the human race to pain, unmerited and eternal. He at least must be acquitted of the charge of using the terms in their ordinary signification. The sole objection is that in thus applying the terms, they are robbed of all meaning whatever. The Theistic view might be sustainable, perhaps, were we to hold that virtue is eternal and immutable, ideally existent and still the same though all living things were to perish. But the fallacy of the argument is at once exposed when we consider that all morality, as we know it, is relative. This is possibly a matter of opinion; and did space permit I would willingly discuss the question. 'An impartial consideration will, I think, sufficiently justify the view now expounded. Not a vice can be named which is not the conception of a virtue; not a virtue which may not become under certain conditions a vice. Every scheme of morals is no more than an extensive system of casuistry. Good and evil are relative terms, and have no meaning for us, except in relation to beings like ourselves. They can be used only of the conditioned; and to apply them to the unconditioned is a confusion of thought so obvious, that its hold upon powerful intellects is almost inexplicable. To attribute vice or virtue to an infinite Being is a contradiction in terms arising from an indolent habit of forbearing to thoroughly analyse our ideas, and to pursue our thoughts to their necessary conclusions. What is true of the relative may be absolutely false of the absolute; and acts which in respect to men are good and bad, to an infinite Being may be absolutely indifferent, neither moral nor immoral, but simply unmoral. Some faint glimmering of light in this darkness is perceptible in the fact that we do not now consider an earthquake, or lightning, or a cyclone as moral agents. It is possible, if any trust could be placed in the judgments of the human mind in such matters, I would say it is probable, that the attributes of the Deity, if Deity there be, differ from those of man not only in degree, but in kind. And if this be so, all speculation upon their nature must be fruitless. In whichever side may lie the probability, it is clear that in this matter there can be no certainty. And I fear that the mere belief in the existence of a god, of whose attributes and mode of being we have no certain knowledge, offers little promise of affording exercise for the religious faculties. The unknown is practically non-existent.

Next, we turn to the question of the immortality of the soul the continuation after death of life under conditions similar to those of our present existence. Apart from revelation, this

belief is based solely upon internal evidences. Unless we are prepared to accept as true the accounts given of direct communication with the inhabitants of a world beyond the grave, the only reasons which we can have for belief in a continued existence are those supplied by our own intuitions. It is said, that there is an universal instinct which teaches that our life does not end when we leave this world—

“Unsatisfied with our allotted span
We crave a larger and a fairer room,
This dreamer, this insatiate being, man,
Finds all too narrow the enclosing tomb.”

Even granting that there is such an instinct, it by no means follows, as John Mill has pointed out, that the idea implies a corresponding reality. But it may, I think, be shewn that this so-called instinct is not necessarily such, but rather a development of a not unnatural desire. Certainly, the writers of the Old Testament were not all believers in the doctrine of an after-life. Perhaps the strongest support for the belief to be found in the Hebrew Scriptures is a famous mistranslated passage in the Book of Job. Often the desire is strong; but not always. Some look forward to a prolonged life of activity; to others, the most blissful expectation is that in death.

“The best of gifts is given,
Even a little sleep.”

Some base their hope on the imperfection of human knowledge, and the belief that somewhere and at some time, their craving after perfect wisdom may be realized. Others cling to human affections, and refuse to believe that those who have lived perfectly in this world must be for ever parted by the hand of death. Others, again, weary of beholding all the oppression done under the sun, heart-sick at the sight of the unmerited misery suffered by themselves or others, despairing of ever attaining on the earth the remotest approach to their ideal of justice, look forward to a future life wherein the crooked shall be made straight. Most of all, perhaps, regard the body as an incumbrance, and counting the soul a separate entity, have some vague and unanalysed notion that it would be much better circumstanced, if relieved of “the earthly body and grievous growth of clay.” All these are perhaps strong reasons for desiring a continuance of life; but they give no warrant for supposing that the desire will ever be gratified. It is possible, that the body is a hindrance, and that when “the freed spirit bathes in wells of light” all “desires and dreams and hopes and aspirations” will be fulfilled. But it is equally possible, and, perhaps, to many minds more probable, that, even assuming

the separate existence of body and soul to be a fact, one is a necessary complement to the other; that each is by itself imperfect; and that only together do they constitute a perfect instrument. To this conclusion point the observed facts of physiology, as they present themselves to the mind of a layman. It would be a doleful awakening, should the soul arise from the sleep of death, and find that with the body had perished all its powers and faculties, and that there only remained a vague remembrance of vanished strength and a hopeless regret for past happiness. But, as a matter of fact, it is only with their lips that most men and women profess their belief in immortality. Were the belief, a living instinct, it is impossible to conceive that there should be that hopeless grief or that speedy oblivion, which falls to the lot of all. A wife or lover is, conventionally at least, expected to remain true to one from whom she is parted by even the lapse of years; but should the separation be that of death, the bond is held to be broken and the survivor freed. Either the conception of love is gross and brutal, or the belief in a continued existence is a fancy. Possibly there is a little of both in the matter. By an ultimate analysis, the proofs of the immortality of the soul are resolved to this; that certain individuals have what they consider an instinct assuring them of a continued existence; and that certain, but not all others, for various reasons, are unwilling to believe that the present is the only life. Considering the ascertained facts of physiological science, which appear to point to the conclusion, but cannot be said to prove, that the mental faculties are inseparably linked with certain physical conditions, it will, perhaps, be safe to abstain from passing a definitive judgment on the question.

Assuming, then, that we have divested ourselves of all bias in these matters; that we have arrived at the conclusion, that the existence and attributes of God, the continuance or cessation of life after the dissolution of the body, are and must for the present remain perfectly open questions; we must now consider whether it therefore follows that we have lost all motive for moral action, all real distinction between good and evil, that, as the brilliant author of the 'New Republic' would have us believe, the barriers which separate vice from virtue must fall, and that life is no longer worth living. If this be indeed the case, then let us like the ancient philosophers do our best to bolster up the old superstitions, which no longer enslave our minds; but which serve to keep society together. Certainly, the first duty of every good citizen is to guard the well-being of the republic; and of the diffusion of truth is not only to rob life of all its sweetness but to reduce men to the condition of brutes, then, in the name of the unthankable God, let us do our best to disseminate salutary

falsehood. Stated in this barest manner, the unwelcome result seems inconceivable. We have all such reverence for Thee, that we can

“O truth, O lady peerless.”

hardly bring our minds to believe it possible that there might be circumstances in which the cult of falsehood would be preferable. But we are not entitled to reject the supposition of the possibility of this result, on the ground of its inconceivability. That most, or even all, men believe that there is a virtue in truth for its own sake is not the slightest reason for assuming the belief to be well-grounded.

The question turns upon the eternal dispute as to the standard of right and wrong. If good and evil are absolute, and consist only in doing or opposing the will of the Creator, there might be some risk of losing all distinctions between them in asserting that we have so little knowledge of the will of God that we do not ever know for certain that He exists, or whether He regards our actions from the same standpoint as that from which we regard them. But, as we have already assumed, good and evil are merely relative terms; It is undisputed that the standard of right and wrong has been and is still continually shifting; the good of to-day has been the evil of to-morrow. The tests have been many and various. There is however, I think one formula which will be found to include whatever of useful and true is to be found in the moral standards of all ages and of all nations. The final test of the morality of an action is whether its tendency is to loosen or to strengthen the bonds of society. It is needless to say that we must not have regard only to the apparent and immediate result of any particular act; we must consider the general tendency of acts as a class. Keeping this point in view, we shall find that an act is moral in proportion as it serves to promote or preserve social health; immoral, in proportion as it tends to produce or strengthen social disease. The Stoic formula:—“Live according to Nature”:—Kant’s rule:—“So act that your rule of conduct may be taken as a rule of conduct by all rational being;” the Utilitarian test:—“The greatest happiness of the greatest number;” are all more or less imperfect expressions of the rule. But there is a law, wider and higher than all these, which includes them all:—“Act in obedience to the laws which govern social life.” It will be found that all systems of morals have, consciously or unconsciously, been based on this principle however mistaken may have been its application. That there are certain states of society which are healthy, and certain others which are diseased is to use an imperfect simile, as certain as that there are healthy and unhealthy states of the body. The physical laws to which men must conform in order to preserve the soundness of the body are capable of being ascertained: they are gradually

being ascertained with an ever closer and closer approach to perfect knowledge, though it is possible that the last word on the subject is destined never to be uttered. These laws have their co-relatives in the laws which govern the conditions of the social state; and these too, are equally capable of ascertainment. Could we discover perfectly the nature, extent, and operation of these laws, we should have a perfect system of morals. That this will ever be attained is not probable. But even now we have an approximate knowledge of them, and each new discovery is a step in the perhaps infinite scale of the development of morals. To act in accordance with the requirements of these laws, or more accurately, to observe the conditions of social health is to act morally; to violate them is to act immorally. Every code of morality which has ever been formulated has been an effort, more or less conscious, to secure their observance. It must not be supposed that these conditions relate merely to the physical part of human nature; they regard equally the spiritual part. To avoid those prurient illustrations which find so much favour with a recent writer on this subject, the law of temperance is as binding on all men on account of the mental and spiritual as on account of the physical consequences of its violation.

We have next to consider the sanctions of this moral system. To classify them briefly, the ordinary sanctions of morality are, the religious sanction, including the unselfish dread of acting contrary to the will of a perfectly good and wise creator, and the selfish fear of offending one "who is strong enough to damn us" if He chooses; the political sanction, that is the fear of breaking the laws of the state and incurring consequent penalties; the sanction of public opinion, that is, the fear of doing anything of which those to whose decisions we defer would disapprove; and the physical sanction, the punishment imposed by the laws of nature on the body, not the soul, that sinneth. Of these aids and incentives to moral action we lose none but the first named. I am far from affecting to disparage or under-estimate the strength of the religious sanction. I know there are many who live a virtuous life, because they believe such a life to be in accordance with the will of a being whom they love, because He first loved them; and whom to grieve would be a cause of the deepest sorrow to them. I think it is also possible that fear of damnation may have some restraining influence on a few abject souls; though it would be absurd to accord the epithet "moral," to acts done under such an influence. But I see no reason why the social sanction, the solemn recognition, which will one day be instinctive, of the intimate connection which exists between all members of the human race, the conviction that every word and thought and deed

eternally affects the mighty mass of humanity of which each man forms an infinitesimal but all important part, should not furnish a perfectly efficient substitute for the religious sanction. If we can once convert into an instinct the consideration that every act, word or thought has a tendency to preserve or to destroy the social organism ; if we can attain a clear conception of the undoubted fact that the displacement of an atom modifies the conditions of the whole universe, that every action is as a stone cast into the sea, whose ripples spread throughout the ocean of space and eternity ; we may well dispense with the supernatural. It is the want of consideration of the effects of our actions upon the destinies of others which leads to the commission of most of the sins of men. When once man learns his true position in regard to his fellow-men, when he considers the incalculable effects of his misdeeds on the innocent, he will have an incentive to virtue far stronger than any that has yet been put forth. There are signs that the cultivation of the social instinct is proceeding ; we are daily acquiring a clearer conception of the unity of history, and social science is making rapid strides. Gradually the knowledge of social duties, the recognition of social laws, will spread and imperceptibly leaven the masses, until one day, after the lapse of generations, men will look back with astonishment at the time when what will have become platitudes were deemed subjects for argument.

And to those who fear that the transition stage may be one of anarchy and disorder, that the extinction of the religious feelings of mankind will be attended with deplorable results, before the social sense shall be sufficiently developed, it may be pointed out that the change cannot possibly be of the nature of a cataclysm. The world will not go to sleep one day with a peaceful belief in God and a future state, and awake next morning to the sudden knowledge that the old things have become new, that our conceptions of heaven and hell are like the baseless fabric of a vision ; and that the social organism is the only real entity. On the contrary, the change will be gradual. Infinite time is before us ; and the revolution of thought and feeling will be imperceptibly accomplished. The new knowledge is first received by the few ; and from them it passes to the many. Finally, it is formulated into a doctrine, and every one perceives that he has really believed it all his life. Nor is it any real objection that there will always be many, perhaps a large majority, who will refuse to be bound by considerations of social good, who will decline to submit to the mild yoke of the social sanction. This is no doubt true. But even now the majority of men are not swayed by considerations of abstract right and wrong ; most men do not shrink from evil for fear of grieving the Holy Spirit of God, nor do they even abstain from sin through dread of

the judgment to come. For such as will not be bound by the moral sanction, there will still remain the other sanctions which I have enumerated, the halter and the prison, the loss of the esteem of their neighbours, the ruin of their bodily health. The social will be the only true moral sanction ; but the other sanctions will ensure the safety of morals. More than this can be expected for no scheme of ethics. But we may reasonably hope that it will be an advantage and will tend to the promotion of virtue, to substitute for the ever-shifting standards which have hitherto been current, one standard, based on ascertained scientific facts, not immoveable but advancing according to fixed and eternal laws, and independent of the flux of individual opinion.

And will all the sweetness of life vanish with the old gods ? Granted that the belief that there is a perfectly powerful, wise, and good Being controlling all earthly things, ordering the movements of the Universe, loving His children with a supreme love, and aiding them in all their struggles after holiness, is sweet, and noble and inspiring ; if we can find no warrant for this belief, is it not better and wiser at once to face the truth than to lap ourselves in a fool's paradise and be rudely awakened to the ghastly reality by some sudden flash of horror ? Richter has shewn us, in painfully vivid words, the dismal gloom of the Universe deprived of God. But this gloom will be dispelled and the light of a new morning will break upon the world, when for the love and fear of an unknown God we substitute the love of our brothers whom we know, and for whom we can work with effect. Granted, again, that if we could be certain that a fresh existence will be given us after death, and that therein all men shall reap as they have sown, and all who have suffered injustice on earth shall receive compensation, many might find in this certainty a sharper stimulus to action, an additional happiness in human affections, a goal of endeavour which now they lack ; yet is it not better to look the facts fairly in the face and consider what remains if we find this belief changed for uncertainty ? If, while admitting the entire possibility of their real existence, we exclude from our minds the belief in God and the hope of immortality, there are still left to us all human loves ; all aspirations after wisdom, all strivings after moral perfection, all efforts for the good of others and for the advancement of the progress of our race, all pleasures of the senses, the imagination, the intellect, and the heart. Surely these things are not to be despised. It should rather add to the value of this life, as Mr. Ruskin has nobly pointed out, that all the work which a man shall ever have it in his power to do must be finished within this little span of years. It is a common place with the preachers that no man should bewail the narrowness of his opportunities for

doing good, his poverty, his insignificance, or his weakness, but should find his highest joy in doing his best. If the limitation imposed be not that of wealth or power, but of time, there should not therefore be the more reason to complain. We may wish that the work of perfecting the world should be completed in a generation ; or that it had been perfect from the beginning. But this is not the method of Nature. She works by unchanging laws ; and we slowly tend towards perfection but never attain it, because the scale is infinite. Millions of ages, countless generations, may perhaps be necessary for the attainment of a single height. Each individual life seems useless, yet each is all important. The aim of all moral action is the perfection of the race ; and it is no small degree of happiness which may be enjoyed in working for this end. And there is no mean measure of nobility in taking no account of the fact that our efforts may be altogether forgotten, if we may only have the consciousness that they have not been thrown away.

“ Leave his heaven to whoso careth,
Leave the palm, the crown of gold,
If an age hence your seed beareth,
Fruit a hundred-fold.”

The thought that we are working in the great cause of humanity is a motive for moral conduct, in the widest sense of the words, higher than the selfish fear or hope of personal consequences, at least as high as the desire to do the will of an unknown God. I have no fear for the result when once the truth has taken root in all men's hearts. Nor can I conceive any limit, to the height to which mankind will attain when the strenuous aspiration after earthly perfection shall have become the guiding principle of human conduct.

B. N. C.

ART. III.—SELECTIONS FROM THE INEDITED PROSE
AND POETRY OF DEROZIO.

THE following selections have been made from all the Journals and Periodicals to which Derozio contributed. Much more of his work lies buried in these journals; some of it probably not worth reproducing; some of it certainly worth preserving. What is here reproduced is a sample of his best and his less successful efforts in prose and verse, from the age of sixteen, when he wrote the first canto of his hitherto unpublished "*Don Juanics*" from his uncle's indigo-plantation at Baughalpoore, till the year of his death, five years afterwards.

The selections are arranged in the order of time; and dates and references are in every case given. Derozio wrote under the various *nom de plumes* of *Juvenis*, *East Indian*, *Leporello*, *Khusroo* and D; and his contributions are spread over so many publications, not by any means easily accessible—some of them altogether lost—so that the work implied in the memoir which appears in this *Review* for April and July 1881, and in these few selections, now for the first time brought together, though a pleasant, has not been a light task.

The "India Gazette," Monday, December 26th, 1825.

DON JUANICS.

I.

'Twas evening; when the broad, red, weary sun
Sinks slowly down beneath the western main,
When the poor toil-worn seaman's work is done,
And little ripples the wide vessel cave,
When the long journey o'er the sea was run,
And far from Oceans' billow, rock or cave
The ship lay safely moored in Hooghly's stream,
All sparkling brightly in the setting beam:

II.

Soon followed night :—'tis so beneath these skies :
(Long lingers twilight in a colder clime)
It is the hour when recollections rise
Unchecked by sorrow, unimpaired by time ;
And o'er the pensive heart wild fancy flies
Painting each pleasure past, and early crime,
Pausing as scenes of swiftly vanished years,
When new alike were ecstasies and fears.

III.

'Twas then that Juan thought (for think we will
When the blank soul has nothing else to do)
On fledged days, but blooming freshly still,
Nourished betimes with pure celestial dew,
And unforgotten forms his bosom fill,
While memory holds their image to his view :—
Such thoughts will come wherever we may roam,
And one will always point to *Home sweet Home !*

"*India Gazette*," 5th January 1826.

DON JUANICS.

XII.

Forgive me, reader ! mine's a wandering muse,
And I am very young—not seventeen—
Spare the harsh censure, but do not refuse
My strains a smile, and it shall be the screen
To shelter me from foes—I would not lose
Th' applause sincere, though I despise the mean :
But your good sense will point out all no doubt ;
And now let's see what Juan is about.

XIII.

The crimson cloud along the eastern sky
Had chas'd the lingering shades of night away,
And told the drowsy world, that morn was nigh,
Or bid their eyes upon the prospect stray ;
Ere long in splendid majesty on high
Uprose the golden God of glorious day ;
And hearts as well as eyes, enjoyed the light
As if the sun were some uncommon sight.

XIV.

They talked of nothing but their passage out
Of all the countless perils they had past,
Biscay's rough bay, Mauritius' dang'rous route
And Saugor sands not least, nor always last.
Hark ! heard ye not the joy-inspiring shout
That leapt from bow to stern, from keel to mast !
"The boats !"—Now friend must bid adieu to friend,
As from the deck they're flocking to descend.

XV.

The ladies kiss each other, and then cry,
Whisper, smile sadly, check the starting tear,
Then look most melancholy, they scarce know why,
Gentler in grief, more beautiful in fear !
But there are tongues that cannot say "Good-bye !"
And hearts that cannot part with things so dear—
Their will must not be done ; for Fate will sever
Tendrils that cling for ever and for ever !

XVI.

Now safe on shore, they saw and they were seen—
Some stared, amazed, and some were in a twitter :—
Juan cried "Coach !" but an uncouth machine
On four men's shoulders borne, was brought—a litter
That Momus in his mirth, called "Palankeen,"
Though the Bengali thinks "Palkee" much fitter.
'Twas nothing very intricate, 'tis true,
But Juan marvell'd what he was to do.

XVII.

Go in—but how ? legs foremost, or a straddle ?
Both on one side, they'd surely dangle down :
Then sit across—it was too wide a saddle ;—
Not on the top, for then he might get brown ;

Nor on the poles, for there he'd roll and waddle.

They show him how,—he points towards the town,
Is in, at last,—and as the seamen say,
Don Juan now was fairly under weigh.

XVIII.

How many a thought, his bosom now possess'd ?

The scene before him, was both new and strange ;

All that was dear to his devoted breast,

All that he once had thought could never change,

All that had bless'd him, all that he had bless'd

Are now forsaken, and he's doom'd to range

A foreign land, without a guide or friend,

And all unconscious how his steps to bend.

If Derozio ever continued or completed the *Don Juanics*, the remaining Cantos, so far as we know, have perished. The very existence of this Canto of LIV stanzas and of the succeeding selections are quite unknown to this generation; and have only been disentombed after considerable search amongst the journals of the early part of this century. From the first canto, it is easy to gather the purpose of Derozio, namely, to give a graphic picture of Calcutta Society. Young as Derozio was, there were few then living who could have produced so truthful and vivid a picture of English life in Calcutta, with all its extravagance, immorality, money-grubbing, ostentation and heroism, as the Eurasian boy who, at the age of eighteen, mingled in the best European Society of Calcutta, and who knew the weaknesses and the capabilities of men of his own blood, and was intimately acquainted with the habits, thoughts and feelings of Native Society. The unique position which he occupied, as a leader amongst Eurasians, as the trusted friend and adviser of the young native lads, who were casting off the traditional incubus of centuries and struggling into clearer light, and as not the least ornament of a band of cultured Englishmen, all these gave him advantages for the writing of a great social epic, which had he completed, would have formed the best monument to his memory.

Torn out leaves of a Scrap Book were written for the (India Gazette) and appeared at intervals extending over nearly a year : The first appeared on the 17th of July 1826, and was headed

For the "India Gazette," 17th July 1826, beginning

"Literature in India—promises." We quote the promises only.

"Promises should be cautiously made and faithfully performed. This is good advice and I still endeavour to abide by it. Well, then, what shall I promise to the public? That I shall be very

grave, and moralize till my fingers ache with scribbling, and my grey goose quill refuses to do its office? Nay, that will never do, for I cannot always be *very, very* grave; besides my vanity will not let me, for I would fain be read by the fair portion of our good city; and surely one sermon on Sunday morning is quite enough for a lady in a whole week. No, no, I am cut out for anything but the pulpit. Then shall I *poetize*, and indite verses without end? I would, if I could, but I don't know how it is that the muse and I have bid each other "a long adieu," for some time past, "verily Othello's occupation's gone!" Then shall I write tales of horror and hobgoblins, and all those things which make the hair stand on end, and alarm little children in the dark? No;—that will not do either, for many reasons and the chief of them is that a man who writes these things must first dream of them; and to provoke dreams of such a nature, it is necessary for him to sup on raw pork (George Coleman the younger says so, and I believe it), but never having been guilty of eating pork aforesaid in state aforesaid, I must hopelessly exclaim "Ah! even tales of horror are not to be touched by me"—Well, then, back I come to the first question, What am I to do?—I will tear out every leaf as I have determined from my Scrap Book and send it for publication to the *India Gazette*, if the editor of that paper should think my lucubration, fancies, flights, &c., worthy of being entrusted to the imps of Pandemonium and eventually of being deposited in one of his columns.But what am I to promise that they shall be? Know all men by these presents that I promise to furnish the readers of the *India Gazette* occasionally with a leaf or two from my Scrap Book and that the substance of such leaf or two shall not be half as long as this article; beyond this I promise nothing.

CALCUTTA: 17th July 1826.

Here is the P. S. from the No. II. of the promised "Torn out Leaves." The subjects of No. II. were Chit Chat, Scandal, Tea Parties.

Thrones, dominations, principedoms, virtues, powers! What in the name of all things mighty in the infernal regions, what have you done? Are you aware of the sin, the awful sin that you have committed against typography of an unintelligible expression that you have printed as mine in last, or rather the first number of my Scrap Book? Look now to my Manuscript, and ye shall find that I wrote "Colonization is to benefit India beyond all *caloulation*; turn ye thus to the *India Gazette* and see what ye have printed. "Colonization is to benefit India beyond all

cultivation!!!" Here is a perversion (of what?) that I never anticipated. Now I must beg leave to inform your infernal worships, that how much soever you may prefer "cultivation" to "calculation," yet I would rather that ye had suffered the word to stand as I wrote it, ye do not suppose that readers in general are as sagacious as yourselves that they will understand "calculation" when they read "cultivation," and that they will in Christian charity suppose such things as misprints. If ye have ever entertained such notions, the sooner ye divest yourselves of them the better, both for your own sakes and those whose MSS. you "get up."

Pray, I beseech you, sweet spirits, do not now maliciously print this in such a manner, that it shall not be understood. Revenge not yourselves upon me. I own your power, I know you can make me appear mighty ridiculous; but I hope ye will act conformably to even the good faith of devils who do not *always* resent an injury, I have not very much reason certainly to complain of your treatment of subjects generally, and save the error alluded to above, I do not think there was another in the printing of the first or last number of my Scrap Book. There now I have tapped you on the back. You are all worthy spirits, now "go and sin no more."

Calcutta July 21st, 1826.

No. IV. of the torn out leaves was "*The Bridal*," reproduced in his poems:—

(ODES FROM THE PERSIAN OF HAFIZ).

I.

صبح کل بسته نقاب

Morn advances from her bowers
Decked with blushing vernal flowers
Bring the morning draught divine
Hither boy! the wine! the wine!

Dew drops trickle from the cheek
Of the tulip, fair and sleek;
Come, ye cheerful friends of mine,
Hither bring the wine, the wine.

Gales of Eden gently blow,
While our streams of ruby flow
Ever pour the draught divine,
Wine for ever, sparkling wine.

See ye not the Bulbul's love
Spreads her green throne in the grove?
Then let liquid ruby shine,
Hither boy! the wine! the wine!

Strange that at such joyous hour
Closed should be the banquet door
Must I here impatient wait ?
Open keeper ! ope the gate !
Ye who love ! Come, hasten here,
Drink the draught so pure and clear,
Ye, to whom high Wisdom's given !
Stay and offer vows to Heaven.
From a nymph of Paradise
On whose cheek enchantment lies,
Drink, like me, a draught divine :
Kines drink as sweet as wine.

Calcutta, 1st August 1827.

If the reader compares Sir William Jones' translation of the same ode, beginning "The morn advances vealed in roses," he will see in what respects they differ; and will probably prefer the rendering of Derozio. These odes are evidence that to his other acquirements the lad of eighteen had added some knowledge of Persian.

II.

That idol to my soul so dear
With jewels glistening on her ear
Hath but a heart of hardest stone
By which my senses all have flown.
O ! her looks are bright and warm,
And she hath a Peri-form
Like the lovely moon she glows
As her robe around her flows.
From her bosom's raging fire
I have caught young love's desire
My boiling breast with passion glows,
My boiling breast with love o'erflows.
Could I clasp within my arms
Her graceful form, her heavenly charms
Could I fold her, like her vest
How my heart would sink to rest !
When my name shall be forgot
And my very bones shall rot
Still my love shall live for ever
And my soul forget her never.
Gazing on her shoulders bare
Gazing on her bosom fair
From my lonely heart is driven
Every hope of bliss in heaven.
Canst thou all these ills endure ?
Hafiz ! Hafiz ! seek a cure !
Haste that, haste away and sip
Her honied lip, her honied lip.

Calcutta, 2nd August 1827.

III.

I have felt love's fatal pain
 Such—I cannot tell again
 Absence poisons every bliss
 Such as—ask not what it is.

I have roamed the world around,
 And at last a treasure found,
 One without, or blight or blame
 One whom—ask me not to name.

O ! her feet my tears bedew,
 Fast they fall, nor sweet nor few
 O ! my tears impetuous flow,
 So as—seek not now to know.

Yester night, from her I heard
 Many a pleasing honied word
 Words of rapture, but I pray
 Ask me, ask me not to say.

Wherefore bite thy lip? O ! say
 Did my tongue my heart betray?
 Ruby lips I've pressed 'tis true,
 Whose,—I will not tell to you.

Far from her in my lone cot
 Sad has been my hapless lot;
 I have felt, alas ! too well
 Pangs which ask me not to tell.

I the ways of Love have known
 All its secrets are my own,—
 Shall I all those secrets state?
 They're what—I can ne'er relate.

Calcutta, 2nd September 1827.

"India Gazette," December 10th, 1829.

ON THE ABOLITION OF SATTEE.

"The practice of Sattée, or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindoos is hereby declared illegal, and punishable by the Criminal Courts"—Regulation XVII. 1829.

Red from his chambers came the morning sun
 And frowned dark Ganges, on thy fatal shore,
 Journeying on high; but when the day was done
 He set in smiles, to rise in blood no more,
 Hark ! heard ye not ? the widow's wail is over;
 No more the flames from impious pyres ascend,
 See Mercy now primeval peace restore,
 While pagans glad the arch ethereal rend,
 For India hails at last, her father and her friend.

Back to its cavern ebbs the tide of crime,
 There fettered, locked, and powerless it sleeps;
 And History bending o'er the page of time,
 Where many a mournful record still she keeps,

The widowed Hindoo's fate no longer weeps ;
 The priestly tyrant's cruel charm is broken,
 And to his den alarmed the monster creeps ;
 The charm that mars his mystic spell is broken,
 O'er all the land 'tis spread : he trembles at the token.

Bentinck, be thine the everlasting mead !
 The heart's full homage, still is virtue's claim,
 And 'tis the good man's ever honoured deed
 Which gives an immortality to fame :
 Transcient and fierce, though dazzling is the flame
 That glory lights upon the wastes of War :
 Nations unborn shall venerate thy name,
 A triumph than the conqueror's mightier far,
 Thy memory shall be blessed as is the morning star.

He is the friend of man who breaks the seal
 The despot custom sets in deed and thought,
 He labours generously for human weal
 Who holds the omnipotence of fear as naught ;
 The winged mind will not to earth be brought,
 'Twill sink to clay if it imprisoned be ;
 For 'tis with high immortal longings fraught,
 And these are dimmed or quenched eternally,
 Until it feels the hand that sets its pinions free.

And woman hath endured, and still endures
 Wrong, which her weakness and her woes should shield,
 The slave and victim of the treacherous lures
 Which wily arts, to man, the tyrant yield :
 And *here* the sight of star, or flower, or field,
 Or bird that journeys through the sunny air,
 Or social bliss from woman has been sealed,
 To her, the sky is dark the earth is bare,
 And Heaven's most hallowed breath pronounced forbidden fare.

Nurtured in darkness, born to many woes
 Words, the mind's instrument but ill supplied,
 Delight, even as a name she scarcely knows,
 And while an infant sold to be a bride,
 To be a mother, her exalted pride,
 And yet not her's, a mother's sigh or smile
 Oft doomed in youth, to stern the icy tide
 Of rude neglect, caused by some wonton's wile
 And forced at last to grace her Lord's funereal pile.

Daughters of Europe ! by our Ganges side
 Which wept and murmured as it flowed along
 Have wives, yet virgins, nay, yet infants died,
 While priestly fiends have yelled a dismal song
 'Mid deafening clamours of the drum and gong :
 And mothers on their pyres have seen the hands
 Which clung around them when those hands were young,
 Lighting around them such unholy brands
 As demons kindle when they rave through hell in bands.

But with prophetic ken, dispelling fears
 Which haunt the mind that dwells on nature's plan
 The Bard beholds through mists of coming years
 A rising spirit speaking peace to man
 The storm is passing, and the Rainbow's span
 Stretcheth from North to South : the ebon car
 Of darkness rolls away : the breezes fan
 The infant dawn, and morning's herald star
 Comes trembling into day : O ! can the Sun be far ?

This is probably one of the noblest odes ever written by Derozio ; and there are ideas and aspirations in it which we doubt not will make a ready response in all who read it.

INDIA.

" *India Gazette*," December 21st, 1829, reviewing the *Bengal Annual* for 1830.

(A DRAMATIC SCENE)
 FOLLOWER.

O' let me tell, but it will weary thee,
 For even the longest summer day were short
 To paint her as she was, yet let me tell.
 Methinks all things her eye beam fell upon
 Should have grown beautiful as do the clouds
 When kissed by the sun's plumage ; her white brow
 Looked as 'twere washed with moonlight,—'twas so fair
 And then her tresses ! they were fatal toils
 For hearts that beat too near them. Her red lip
 Might make the cheated world believe, that she
 Had placed a severed ruby on her mouth ;—
 But then it teemed with life this made us learn
 'Twas not an ocean gem. Her voice was sweet
 As is that gentle music which the breeze
 Makes as it passeth o'er a moonlit stream ;
 Whene'er she waked the lute upon her lips
 'Twas bliss to hear the magic notes she made ;
 And captured souls petitioned her to keep
 Their hearing in such sweet imprisonment !
 Her form was graceful as the *Sunbal*, when
 'Tis gemmed with twilight dim. She was yet young
 And sinless as the thoughts which infants form
 In their first dreams of happiness. She loved,
 Not with that common feeling which the common world
 Has consecrated with a holier name
 Than even it deserves. her's was passion
 Free from all earthly dross kept in her breast
 With thoughts that lay like fountains underground
 Pure and unsullied, even by Heaven's soft breath,

DEVOTEE.

Enough ; those sweets will cloy mine ear, and make
 My soul unfit for those blest offices
 Which are so many lights that lead to heaven,
 Look where the God of Glory drives His car,
 And journeys on to His appointed goal ;
 So let us to our labour both retire.

The following leader is a fair example of Derozio's prose style. It will be seen from the context that he had ideas regarding the functions, of poetry and the mission of the poet which he was never able to put in practice.

"INDIA GAZETTE,"

Friday, January 22nd, 1830.

THE influence of poetry in refining and purifying the springs of life is confessedly great ; and that it should be made, what it is capable of being, an instrument for elevating and improving man's moral and intellectual nature is

"A Consummation devoutly to be wished"

That it has been generally employed for so exalted and benevolent a purpose, is more than the most enthusiastic admirers and devotees of "the art unteachable, untaught" can take upon themselves to affirm. Few, indeed, who possess "the vision and the faculty divine," have unfolded to their fellow creatures those bright promises and prospects which intellectual and moral advancement will unquestionably realize ; few have laid bare those principles of human nature to the proper cultivation of which, all social happiness must be ultimately ascribed ; and few have advocated that independence of thought and action, which elevates man to the condition he should enjoy, and for which he was doubtless designed by nature. It may be said, that the province of the poet is to amuse, and that such as accomplish so much complete their proper ends. This, however, we question. Every thing is either good or evil, and its ultimate consequences must be considered in estimating its value. Much that affords immediate pleasure may be productive of remote but dreadful evil. And as thoughts and sentiments have a great influence in promoting good or evil, it becomes us to consider what they may effect on being promulgated. Appeals to the passions through the imagination should, therefore, be regulated according to the tendencies they possess of promoting general good or evil. False sentiment, enthusiasm misdirected, and base passions excited must lead to evil results, and the extent of their influence will be in proportion to the talent or ingenuity with which these sentiments are expressed, that enthusiasm directed, or those passions agitated. Is this sufficiently considered by poets ? Is not the great mass of what they write composed of false sentiments, subversive of much that is noble and exalted in human nature ? Is not that despondency with which too many of them may be charged, a great drawback from the buoyancy and elasticity with which life is invested and which they are so liable to deaden and destroy ? Is not that glory with which they

have encircled military achievements like a halo that consecrates and adorns them, an ornament bestowed upon objects unworthy of it ? Is not all the softness and sweetness which they have ascribed to romance, too apt to mislead and bewilder the mind ? Are not many of their longings and imaginings calculated to give us a disgust for the ordinary pursuits of life, and dispose us to disregard our condition to be indifferent to the realities of the present, and the prospects of the future ? Too many, we fear, must plead guilty to these charges. We are not insensible to the truth of much that has been written by Milton, Shakespeare, Dante, Burns, Byron, Shelley, Wordsworth and Campbell ; but even in the writings of these great men, how many sentiments are to be found, which, in their general consequences, may be productive of more evil than good ? Granting, however, that none such may be discovered in their works, can we not name a host, the greater portion of whose writings have the most direct tendency to degrade human nature, to beautify time-sanctioned fallacies, to give greater currency to erroneous opinions, and, in short, to retard the moral and intellectual advancement of human nature ?

Let it not be understood from the general tenor of the preceeding remarks, that we are opposed to the cultivation of poetry. Let us not be charged with a heresy which we loath. On the contrary we wish to see a *radical reform* even among poets ; and we hope that this age of investigation will direct its attention to a subject concerning which more false notions prevail than any other with which we are acquainted. Poetry cannot be destroyed ; for it is the production of taste and imagination, and the expression of passion. It only indicates the existence of these, and while they exist, they will operate ; and the result of their operation will be poetry and the fine arts. The hope that aspires to eradicate them from the human mind is impotent, and will fail ; but that which endeavours to secure for them a proper direction needs only to persevere, and its object will be attained. The stream of poetic thought has generally flowed through poisonous channels, and they who have tasted its waters have also imbibed their corruption. Let it be the aim of the present age to open new springs ; let the mind engage in voyages for the discovery of happiness ; let the poet abandon war, misanthropy, romance and false feeling, and let his enthusiasm be on that side which espouses man's best interest ; let it be his object to improve, while he delights, and to promote the advancement of society, while he scatters flowers along its path ; and he may rest assured that fame will not only await his steps but that he will attain a high rank among the best benefactors of mankind. Hearts that are now dead to the duties which they owe to society will

spring, starting at his call, and sympathizing with the world while they take a more active and just part in its concerns will melt

"At his command
Like Horeb's rock beneath the Prophet's hand."

(BENGAL ANNUAL, FOR 1831.)

To the Students of the Hindu College.

Expanding like the petals of young flowers
I watch the gentle opening of your minds
And the sweet loosening of the spell that binds
Your intellectual energies and powers
That stretch (like young birds in soft summer hours,)
Their wings to try their strength. O ! how the winds
Of circumstance, and freshening April showers
Of early knowledge, and unnumbered kinds
Of new perceptions shed their influence ;
And how you worship truth's omnipotence !
What joyance rains upon me, when I see
Fame in the mirror of futurity,
Weaving the chaplets you have yet to gain,
And then I feel I have not lived in vain.

"India Gazette," January 1832.

NIGHT.

Like our young dreams of fame, and hope, and love,
Bright, beautiful, but far above our reach,
Night's jewels sparkle in her coronet ;
So dead a stillness fills the voiceless air,
That, if an angel should pass by the while,
Well would we hear the waving of his wing :
And feel the dew he scattered. The soft breeze
Which walks forth at this hour from grave to grave,
To fan the forest blossoms to repose,
Still slumbers in his cavern ; and the Moon,
Pallid, and weary, wandering slowly on,
Comes, like a widow, sorrowing for her lord.

These verses appeared first, as the accompanying date shows, the month after his death, and may along with the lines "Independence" reproduced in the second part of the memoir (see *Calcutta Review* for July 1881,) be regarded as amongst the last he ever wrote.

The following Song appeared in the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine* for 1833. Derozio died in December 1831.

SONG.

(To a Portuguese air.)

BY THE LATE H. L. V. DEROZIO.

Her tears were streaming
 For joys departed,
 No light was cheering
 The broken-hearted
 Her weary breast,
 Still sought for rest,
 That could not be possessed.

And thoughts were coming
 (Of aught but gladness,)

Till worn with weeping
 She slept in sadness.
 Last watch she kept !
 Last tears she wept !
 But not last sleep she slept !

No hope is beaming
 Of change to-morrow,
 While she is dreaming
 A dream of sorrow ;
 For grief, extreme
 With love's the theme
 Of that delicious dream.

The blast was sweeping
 Across the ocean,
 And forth she wandered
 To mark its motion
 Her bosom was bare,
 Unbraided her hair,
 Her look was wild despair.

She gazed in silence
 Upon the billow,
 But now she's pressing
 A watery pillow !
 For soon she gave
 Unto the wave
 The life 'twas vain to save.

The following fragment of a translation appeared in the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine* for 1833 (see page 519). A short notice of the translation and of Maupertius appeared in the Memoir of Derozio. Part II, published in the July Number of the *Calcutta Review*,

ON MORAL PHILOSOPHY.

(Translated by the Late H. L. V. Derozio from the French of
 M. Maupertius.)

CHAPTER I.

WHAT IS HAPPINESS, AND WHAT IS MISERY.

I CALL *pleasure* all perception which the mind would rather
 prove, than not prove.

I call pain all perception which the mind would rather not prove, than prove.

All perception in which the mind would fix itself, the absence of which it does not desire, during which it would not pass into another state, nor be at rest—all such perception is a *pleasure*. The time during which such a perception lasts is a *happy moment*.

All perception which the mind would avoid, the absence of which it desires, during which it would pass into another state, or be at rest—all such perception is a pain. The time during which such a perception lasts is an *unhappy moment*.

I know not whether there are any perceptions which may be denominated *indifferent* perceptions, the absence or presence of which are perfectly alike to us. But if there be any such, it is evident that they cannot make any happy or unhappy moments.

In each happy or unhappy moment it is not enough to consider the duration: regard ought to be had to the greatness of the pleasure or pain. To that greatness I give the name of *intensity*. This intensity may be so great, that although the duration may be very short, a happy or unhappy moment shall be equal to another of which the duration is long and the intensity little. In the same way the duration may be so long, that although the intensity may be very little, a happy or unhappy moment shall be equal to another of which the intensity is great and the duration little.

We ought, therefore, in estimating happy or unhappy moments, not only to regard the duration but also the intensity of the pleasure or pain. A double intensity and single duration may make one moment equal to another, of which the intensity is single and the duration double. To express this generally, we should say, that in estimating happy or unhappy moments, they should be considered as *the product of the intensity of the pleasure or pain multiplied by the duration*. Such durations can be easily measured; we have instruments which measure them independently of devices which we can adopt. It is not so with these intensities. We cannot say whether the intensity of a pleasure or a pain is exactly double or triple the intensity of another pleasure or pain.

But although we have no exact measure for these intensities, we feel that some are greater than others; and we do not give up comparing them. Every man by a natural judgment (gauges?) the intensity and the duration in his confused estimation of happy or unhappy moments. Sometimes he prefers a little pleasure which continues for a length of time to a greater one which passes rapidly away; sometimes he prefers a very great but very short pleasure to a very little but very long one. This is also the case with pain.

Although very great, it may be so short as to be more cheerfully borne than a smaller one of longer duration : and it may be so small, that though of long duration, it may be preferred to a very short but very intense pain. Each person makes these comparisons as well as he can ; and although their calculations may be different, it is not the less true that the just estimation of happy or unhappy moments is, as we have stated—the product of the intensity of the pleasure or pain, multiplied by the duration.

Good is a sum of happy moments.

Evil is a sum of unhappy moments.

It is evident that these sums to be equal should not occupy intervals of equal times. In that, where there is more of intensity, there should be less of duration ; in that where the duration is great, the intensity should be little. These sums are the elements of happiness and misery.

Happiness is the sum of good that remains after deducting the evil. *Misery* is the sum of evil that remains after deducting the good.

Happiness and misery then depend on the compensation of good and evil. The happiest man is not always he who has had the greatest sum of good. The evils which he has encountered in the course of his life have diminished his happiness ; and their sum may have been so great as to have diminished his happiness more than the sum of good has increased it. The happiest man is he to whom the greatest sum of good remains after having deducted the sum of evils. If the sum of good and that of evil be equal, we cannot call him, to whom such a lot has been assigned either a happy or an unhappy man. His life goes for nothing. If the sum of evil exceed that of good, he is unhappy in a greater or less degree. His life does not go for nothing. Thus, it is not until we have made this last calculation, until a balance is struck between the sums of good and evil, that we can judge of happiness or misery.

Good and evil being the elements of happiness and misery, all one's care ought to be employed in obtaining a correct knowledge of them, to compare the one class with the other—and finally always to make choice of the greatest good, and to avoid the greatest evil. But many difficulties beset this comparison : and each individual makes it in his own way.

One, for the enjoyment of a few voluptuous moments, loses his health or destroys his fortune, another refuses the most lively pleasures to obtain a treasure which he will never enjoy. This one languishes under the protracted agonies of the stone ; that suffers the most cruel pain to be delivered from it.

And although good and evil appear to be very different *species*;

we still compare those which appear the most heterogenous with each other. Thus it was that Scipio found more good in a generous action than in all the pleasure which he could have enjoyed with his captive.

What adds to the difficulty of the comparison of good and evil, is the different *distances* whence they are viewed. If we compare a remote with a present good, or a present with a remote evil, rarely shall we make a just comparison. This inequality of distance, however, causes difficulty only in practice. For the future, which is apparently at our door, when age and health are taken into consideration, ought to be regarded as near, at least, as the present. There is yet another more difficult comparison, and one that is not less necessary; it is that of good with evil. I mean here, the estimation of evil which ought reasonably to be suffered that it may be compensated by such or such good, or the estimation of good, of which we ought to deprive ourselves to avoid such or such a evil. Although this comparison cannot always be correctly made, there is an infinite number of cases in which we feel it advantageous to suffer an evil to enjoy a good, or to abandon a good to avoid an evil. When good and evil are viewed at different distances the comparison becomes still more difficult.

It is in making all these comparisons that prudence consists. It is owing to their difficulty that few prudent persons are to be found; and we ascribe the infinite variety of human conduct to the different ways in which these calculations are made.

CHAPTER II.

IN ORDINARY LIFE THE SUM OF EVIL EXCEEDS THAT OF GOOD.

We have defined *pleasure* to be all perception, which the mind would rather prove than not prove; all perception in which it would fix itself; during which it would not pass into another state nor be at rest. We have defined pain to be all perception which the mind would rather not prove than prove, all perception, which it would avoid; during which it would pass into another state, or be at rest.

If life be examined according to these ideas, we shall be surprised, nay frightened, to find it full of pains, how barren of pleasures. How rare are those perceptions in the presence of which the mind delights? What is life, but a continual wish to change its perceptions? It is passed in desires; and we would annihilate all the interval which separates us from their accomplishment. Often would we have days, months, and whole years suppressed; and we never acquire any good, without paying for it with our lives.

If God accomplished our desires, and suppressed for us all the time, which we would have suppressed, the old man would be surprised to see the little that he would have lived; perhaps the duration of the longest life would be reduced to a few hours.

Now all that time the suppression of which we would wish for, in order to pass to the accomplishment of our desires that is to pass from some perceptions to others—all that time is composed of unhappy moments.

There are few men, I think, who do not agree, that their lives have been more full of such moments than of happy ones, when they consider nothing more in these moments than their *duration*; but if regard were paid to their intensity the sum of evil would be much more increased, and the proposition, that *in ordinary life the sum of evil exceeds the sum of good*, would become more true.

All the amusements of men prove the misery of their condition. It is only to avoid painful perception, that one plays at chess, and another follows the chase: all seek forgetfulness of themselves in serious or frivolous occupations. Nor do these suffice; they have recourse to other resources: some by means of liquors excite a tumult in their minds, during which it loses the idea that torments it: others by the fumes of the leaves of a plant seek a giddiness for their cares; others charm their pains by a juice which throws them into a species of ecstasy. In Europe, Asia, Africa and America, all men, though ever so different, have sought remedies for the evils of life.

Were the enquiry made, we should find very few, from whatever condition they might be taken, who would recommence life, as it has been, who would repass through all the states in which it has been. Would not this be the pleasant avowal, that there is more evil than good in life.

Is this, then, the fate of human nature? Is it irrecoverably condemned to so severe a doom, or are there any means to change this proportion between good and evil. Is it not from the little use, or rather the bad use, which man makes of his reason, that makes this proportion so fatal? Would not a happier life be the reward of his reflections and his exertions?

CHAPTER III.

REFLECTIONS ON THE NATURE OF PLEASURES AND PAINS.

Philosophers of all times have known the importance of seeking happiness, and have made it their principal study. If they have not found the proper road which leads to it, they have travelled along paths by which it may be approached. In comparing their

discoveries in other sciences with the excellent precepts which they have left us by which we may become happy, it will surprise us to see the greater progress that has been made in this science than in every other.

I shall not enter into a detail of the opinions entertained by all those great men regarding happiness ; nor shall I point out the particular differences which prevail in the sentiments of those who in general matters belonged to the same sect : such a discussion could be nothing more than a long difficult, uncertain, and positively useless kind of history.

Some regarding the body as the sole instrument of happiness and misery, know of no pleasures but those which depend upon impressions made by external objects upon our senses, and of no pains, but those which depend upon similar impression.

Others again ascribing too much to the mind, admit of no pleasures or pains, but those which it finds in itself.

These opinions are extravagant, and equally remote from the truth. Impressions made by external objects on the body are sources of pleasure and pain ; and so are the operations of the mind, and although all these pleasures and pains may enter through different passages, they have this in common, that they are perceptions of the mind, with which it is pleased or displeased, and which make happy or unhappy moments.

Let us not then be alarmed, about comparing the pleasures of sense with the most intellectual pleasures ; let us not create an illusory belief that there may be some pleasures of a less noble nature than others. The noblest pleasures are those which are the greatest.

Some philosophers go so far as to regard the body as altogether foreign to ourselves, and pretend that we could even bring ourselves not to feel the accidents to which it is subject.

Others would not deceive themselves less were they to believe that the impressions made by external objects on the body could so occupy the mind as to render it insensible to its reflections.

All pleasures and pains belong to the mind.

"The Orient Pearl" for 1854.

TO MY FRIEND UPON HIS MARRIAGE.

Now all that's good betide thee,
All joys of wedded love !
To her who sits beside thee
All blessings from above.

On life's eternal ocean,
As hand-and-hand ye go,
Still gentle be its motion,
And musical its flow.

May every star shine o'er you,
 With beams e'en doubly bright
 To brighten all before you,
 And cheer life's dreary night.

The winds their music bring you,
 At the silent fall of even ;
 Their hymns let angels sing you
 As they watch the gates of heaven !

May the flowers bloom around you
 With a rich unfading bloom,
 As the potent spell has bound you
 Of their delicate perfume !

Then all that's good betide you,
 All joys of wedded love !
 To her who sits beside thee
 All blessings from above !

The friend for whom these lines were written was Derozio's old school-fellow, and life-long friend Mr. W. Kirkpatrick. The verses in themselves have no interest beyond the fact. They are much below the average of his writings and are more creditable to his heart than his powers as a poet. The *Orient Pearl* was the successor of the *Bengal Annual* ; and its contributors were H. M. Parker, J. W. Ricketts, Calder Campbell, Lieut. Macgregor, M. Crow, Kasiprasad Ghose, M. W. Wollaston, R. Smith, C. T. Muller, H. Andrews, and others,

THOMAS EDWARDS.

ART. IV.—THE ABORIGINAL ELEMENT IN THE POPULATION OF BENGAL.

1. *Report on the Census of Bengal, 1872.*—By H. Beverley.
2. *Annals of Rural Bengal.*—By W. W. Hunter, L.L.D.

THERE is no study more interesting alike for the philosopher and the antiquarian than the caste-system of India. It is an institution which belongs to the world's past history, to remote ages and archaic life ; but in India it is a living system, powerful in its character, universal in its influence. Elsewhere the historian tries to trace it from imperfect materials and doubtful evidences, just as he tries to describe polyandry and other institutions of the remote past ; in India the administrator of the present day finds it a living and powerful institution, he meets it at every turn and in every aspect of life, and has to make allowance for it in his dealings with the people.

The origin of this remarkable system was for a long time involved in mystery, and the reasons are not far to seek. The members of the highest caste, who were naturally interested in making the system perpetual, ascribed to it a divine origin and so kept its historical growth and development concealed from view. They had the making of the nation's literature and they made it as they willed. It was stated that the four original castes had sprung from different portions of the body of Brahma, or the Deity, and that the union of the men of some of these original castes with the women of some other produced the modern castes of India. The institutes of Manu give a long account of the origin of the modern castes of India from such admixture of the original castes and the majority even among the educated people of India still believe in Manu's childish account of the multiplication of castes.

Patient research and accurate scholarship in Sanscrit have, however, cleared up the mystery. The highest authorities on the subject like Max Müller and the late Dr. Muir agree in holding that the caste system had a historical growth and development in India ; and the development can be traced. Antiquarians agree in stating that the earliest literature of the Hindus bears no trace of the caste system, and that the system was unknown to the Hindus who composed the *Mantras* of the Rig Veda. There was no separate class of priests or of warriors, none of traders or of

slaves. Fathers of families worshipped their gods in their own homes or under the open sky, and young men went out to battle when there was occasion. Rich men sometimes kept in their pay persons to perform for them, the rites of worship, but a separate caste of priests was as entirely unknown as a separate caste of warriors.

In course of time the early Hindus lost much of the original simplicity in their worship and their manners. Religious rites became more complicated, and a professional class of priests (who alone could perform such elaborate rites) then arose and soon formed themselves into a separate body or caste. Kings and chiefs and souldjers soon formed themselves into a separate caste, that would not mix with the mass of the cultivators and traders who formed the third caste or section of the body politic. The aborigines who had been conquered by the Aryans and were treated as slaves formed the fourth and last caste. Such was the historical origin of the four original castes of India, the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas and the Sudras. This division into castes took place long after the Aryans had come into India, and long after they had composed the beautiful *Mantras* of the Rig Veda which are the earliest literary records in the world.

It will probably help us to imagine how this division took place if we reflect on similar events and institutions in European history. Modern European life with its constant movement and rapid effacement of all social landmarks furnishes us with no parallel, but the history of Mediæval Europe will probably help us to some extent. The distinction between the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas was scarcely more marked than that between the proud knights of the Feudal times and the humble burghers, while between Vaisyas and the vile Sudras there was no wider line of demarcation than that which existed between prosperous, though humble burghers of Italy, of Flanders, or of Languedoc, and the miserable slaves and *colonii* who tilled the land on the Continent. Lastly, the clergy of the middle ages with their persistent attempts at wresting supreme power from the crowned Kshatriyas of Europe, their monopoly of all learning and knowledge, and their fabrication of innumerable legends conducive to their own interests not unduly represented the Brahmanical class and the Brahmanical spirit in Europe. In England the lowest classes had too much freedom, and the barons and the clergy had had too little of absolute despotic power to bear any resemblance to the castes of India; but whoever has studied continental history with attention will not fail to perceive in the clergy, the nobility, the burghers and the enslaved agriculturists of France or of Germany, a reproduction, at least in the main outlines, of the original four classes of India.

And now let us imagine the line of demarcation between the social classes in Mediæval Europe to be inviolable. Let us suppose that the Squire could not after some years of apprenticeship rise to be a knight, that the layity could not enter into the ranks of the clergy, and that the slaves and *colonii* could not come to towns, or change their status. Let us consider all the four orders absolutely hereditary, and we have the four castes of India transplanted to Mediæval Europe. The consequences would be a more active hostility between the nobility and the clergy, and a slow demoralization of all classes because hereditary. The clergy would be more jealous of their hereditary privileges and learning, would multiply legends and literary forgeries, and would aim at supreme political power; the nobility would, with the progress of civilization, scoff at clerical learning and attain knowledge of a more liberal and useful character; the mass of the people would remain in gross ignorance under the double oppression of a hereditary priesthood and an absolutely hereditary nobility; and each class would lose vitality and undergo a slow degeneration from want of fresh blood, from want of healthy intermixture, and from exclusiveness and hereditary prejudices. In one word the consequences would be what they have been in India.

But happily for the civilization of Europe the demarcation between the different sections of the community never became inviolable. The clergy who lived in celibacy replenished their ranks from among the ablest and shrewdest members of the lay community, even as the nobility welcomed to their ranks the boldest and ablest. There was no inviolable gulf between the different sections of the community, the distinctions which existed gradually became weaker and weaker, until under the influence of modern civilization the different "castes" of the Mediæval times merged their differences and combined themselves into strong united nationalities.

We have one word more to say about the two lower castes of Mediæval Europe, the free burghers and the enslaved cultivators. Slavery died a natural death in Europe with the advance of civilization, the restrictions placed on the cultivators of the soil disappeared one by one, and with them disappeared the sharp distinction between the free burghers and the enslaved cultivators. In modern Europe we miss these two well defined classes of whom we read in every reliable account of the middle ages, and in their places we find members of different professions, merchants, petty traders, peasant proprietors, labourers,—all equally free. Bondage has disappeared, the Sudras of Europe have mixed themselves up with the Vaisyas or free burghers, and the united community has split itself into different trades and professions, all equally free.

And this is exactly the way in which the numerous castes of modern India have arisen.

When the Greeks came into India in the fourth and third centuries before Christ the original division into four castes had already been altered, and what is still more remarkable there was no enslaved caste in India. Beside the Brahmans whom the Greeks found as religious men or Government officers or as spies, and the Kshatriyas whom the Greeks describe as the warrior caste, they found the mass of the people divided into three sections, *viz*, shepherds, agriculturists and artizans. All were equally free, and Arian distinctly mentions the fact that there was no slavery in India. It is apparent, therefore, that the original Sudras had mixed themselves up with the Vaisyas, and the united community had split themselves into a large number of professions which Manu describes as "mixed castes," and which the Greeks group under the three great heads of shepherds, agriculturists and artizans. Manu, indeed, still speaks of Vaisyas and Sudras as distinguished from the mixed castes, and it is possible, that down to his day portions of these communities had still remained pure; but the large number of mixed castes whom Manu describes as engaged in different industries, trades, and professions can be no other than the great mass of the primitive Vaisyas and Sudras who had taken to different professions with the advance of civilisation, and had therefore assumed new names according to the professions they followed.

The position then that we take up is this:—That Manu's account of the origin of the numerous modern castes in India (*i.e.*, from the union of members of different castes, *e.g.*, of a Brahman with a Kshatriya woman or of a Vaisya with a Brahman woman, &c.) is as unreal as it is childish and fantastic; that with the spread of Aryan conquest over Northern India the mass of the aborigines who were subjugated and were at first treated as Sudras, or slaves, came to form a portion of the Hindu nation; that they as well as the mass of the Aryan conquerors—the Vaisyas—split themselves up into different trades and professions with the advance of civilization and the division of labour; and that they assumed new names according to the professions which they embraced, and formed new castes.

This account of the formation of the numerous castes of modern India is so apparently true, and is so well-supported by evidence, that it was scarcely necessary to adduce arguments in its favour. Nevertheless we have taken the trouble to describe the process at some length for an important reason. The process, which we may briefly describe as the assimilation of the aborigines with the Aryans, and the splitting of the united community into numerous professions according to the exigencies of modern civilisation,—is

one which is going on to the present day, and which every careful observer in India will notice on every side of him. Aborigines are fast entering within the pale of Hinduism to the present day ; some are entering within the limits of the recognised castes, while others are forming new castes at the lower end of the ladder. Aboriginal warriors have assumed the name of Kshatriyas and have been allowed that proud name ; while aboriginal priests are up to the present day assuming the name of Brahmans, as one by one their tribes enter within the pale of Hinduism. The history of religions presents us no stranger phenomenon than the tacit process of proselytism by which Hinduism is absorbing within itself millions of the less civilised tribes of India.

There are numerous instances of aborigines who have entered, or are entering, within the pale of Hinduism, and have assumed their place in recognized Hindu castes ; and the only difficulty one experiences is in making a proper selection. It is necessary here to present only a few remarkable instances, and that we may do so with some sort of order, we must begin with the highest caste.

It is not generally known to Europeans, that among the recognized Hindu castes there are some which are classed as *Nabasák*, or pure, and there are others which are considered as not so. Beside the Kayests and Vaidyas who form the highest castes next to the Brahmans, the Kamar and Kumar, the Teli and Tamuli, the Kansari and Sankari, the Tanti, the Napit, the Sadgop, the Moyra, the Gandhabanya, and many others are considered as pure. Kayests and Brahmans will drink water carried by people of these castes, and the same Brahmans who perform religious offices for Kayests will perform similar offices for these pure castes without degradation. On the other hand, there are other castes like the Sonarbanya, the Sekara, the Chutar, the Kolu, the Goala, the Dhopa, the Suri, the Kaibarta, &c., which are considered impure. High caste men will not drink water touched by these people, and the Brahmans who preside at the religious and social ceremonies of Kayests and Vaidyas will not perform such offices for these castes. The consequence is that each of these castes have Brahmans of their own, and these Goala Brahmans, Kaibarta Brahmans, &c., perform the religious ceremonies for the people of those castes, respectively. These Brahmans are called Barna Brahmans, or caste Brahmans, i.e., Brahmans belonging to particular castes.

Who are these Barna Brahmans ? Are they pure Brahmans who have been degraded because they have performed religious offices for the so-called impure castes ? This may possibly be the case with the Sonarbanyas who are rich enough to bribe pure Brahmans to descend from their status and become Banya-Brahmans. But what shall we say of the Kaibarta Brahmans, for

instance? Are they not the aboriginal priests who used to minister to the religious wants of the Kaibarta tribe, when it was an aboriginal tribe, and who have now assumed the name of Brahmans because the tribe has entered within the pale of Hinduism?

Let us look around us for facts which will enable us to answer this question. Let us consider the case of those aborigines who have not yet been completely Hinduized, but who have nevertheless become so far Hindus as to require the services of Brahmans. The Chandals and Bagdis of Bengal are not recognised as Hindus, but they are Hinduized to a sufficient degree to require Brahmans to preside at their social and religious ceremonies. And who are the Brahmans who minister to their religious wants? Not the high caste Brahmans, nor even the Barna-Brahmans, but members of their own community, their own aboriginal priests whom they call their Brahmans. And when these semi-Hinduized castes will be completely Hinduized in the course of centuries, perhaps of thousands of years, their priests will claim the rank of regular Brahmans and will pretend to pure and unbroken descent from the proud Brahmans described by Manu.

One remarkable instance which came under our personal observation deserves a passing mention. The population of eastern districts, like Backergunj and Noakhali, consists mostly of Mahommedans, and the proportion of Mahommedans is perhaps even larger in the sub-Division of Dakkhin Shabbazpur than in other parts of Backergunj district. Indeed, in this sub-Division there is hardly a single resident family of high caste Hindus; those who come here for business or trade or as Government servants have their homes elsewhere and leave the island as often and as fast as they can. There are some low caste Hindus, however, and there is one remarkable tribe of semi-Hinduized aborigines who are called Dās. These semi-aboriginal Dāses must not be confounded with Hindu Dāses like the Kaibartas. In their manners, as in their speech, the semi-aboriginal Dāses of Dakkhin Shabbazpur betray their origin, no Hindu Brahmans will minister to their wants, and no recognised Hindu castes will mix with them. They form a community of their own, and possess some of the most estimable virtues of an industrious and peaceful community. Even the Musalmans of the island praise their truthfulness and their faithfulness, they never figure in any rioting or affray, and they are as industrious as they are obedient and peaceful. There are no more patient hewers of the wood and clearers of the jungle than they, and the primeval woods which still fringe the southern shores of the island are fast disappearing under the axe of this industrious race. At first a few trees are cut and a tank is excavated in the

bosom of the forest,—year after year, lands on all sides of the tank are reclaimed, and in a few years a large area of finely cultivated land smiles in the midst of waste and jungle. We have often had occasion to visit the commencement of such peaceful and useful labours, and few scenes can be more pleasant to the eye or more interesting to the mind than the solitary tank, the few smiling acres of cultivated land, and the humble huts of one or two Dás families in the bosom of solitude and primeval jungle. The people of the island speak of the *Dás* and the *Bhais* (buffaloe) together, as possessing the same kind of patient energy and uncomplaining, untiring industry.

It is interesting to watch how fast this aboriginal race is assuming Hindu religion and civilisation. The *Dásés* have priests of their own who are called *Dás Brahman*s, who celebrate social and religious rites much after the fashion of Hindu Brahman. We see in them the very process by which members of the aboriginal races enter within the pale of the Hindu priest-caste and assume the proud name of Brahman. A few centuries hence, and the *Dásés* of Backergunj will be a recognized Hindu caste, and their priests will be recognised as Brahman by the Hindu community.

Instances could be multiplied without limit, of this process of Brahman-manufacture (if we are allowed the somewhat irreverent expression!) which is going on among many semi-aboriginal castes in all parts of Bengal. What we have stated, however, will suffice to show that aboriginal blood enters largely in the existing Brahman community of Bengal. The process described above must have been in operation since the first advent of Hindu civilisation and religion in Bengal, and it is impossible to say what proportion out of the million of Bengal Brahman (not including Behar and Orissa, *vide* Census Report of 1872) are of pure aboriginal descent, and what number are of mixed blood. We do not know if the high caste Brahman, *i.e.*, the Brahman of the Kayests and Vaidyas, &c., can claim pure descent from the Aryan Brahman of Northern India. They pretend to have descended from the five pure Brahman who came from Canouj to Bengal about a thousand years ago. The claim, we need hardly say, is very theoretical, and the five men if they lived again would be astonished to see the vast number of Brahman who claim descent from them!

There is still clearer evidence that the Kshatriyas of Bengal have largely replenished their ranks from the aboriginal races. In no part of Bengal, probably, have the Kshatriyas a more glorious history than in Bankura district. The ancient Rajas of Bissenpur trace back their history to a time when Hindus were still reigning in Delhi, and the name of Musalmans was not yet heard in India. Indeed, they could already count five centuries of rule

over the western frontier tracts of Bengal before Bakhtiar Khilji wrested that province from Hindus. The Musalman conquest of Bengal, however, made no difference to the Bissenpur princes. Protected by rapid currents like the Damudar, by extensive tracts of scrub-wood and sâl jungle, as well as by strong forts like that of Bissenpur, these jungle kings were little known to the Musalman rulers of the more fertile portions of Bengal, and were never interfered with. For long centuries, therefore, the kings of Bissenpur were supreme within their extensive territories. At a later period of Musalman rule, and when the Mogul power extended and consolidated itself on all sides, a Mogul army sometimes made its appearance near Bissenpur with claims of tribute, and tribute was probably "sometimes paid. Nevertheless the Subadars of Murshedabad never had that firm hold over the Rajas of Bissenpur which they had over the closer and more recent Rajships of Burdwan and Birbhum.* As the Burdwan Raj grew in power, the Bissenpur family fell into decay; Maharaja Kirti Chand of Burdwan attacked the Bissenpur Raj and added to his zemindari large slices of his neighbour's territories. The Mahrattas completed the ruin of the Bissenpur house which is an impoverished zemindari in the present day. Government has graciously granted a pension to the present Zemindar, while the Zemindar's brother (a most pleasant and estimable gentleman) holds the humble post of a sub-Registrar in his own ancient fort which is magnificent even in its ruins.

This ancient and renowned family is of course a Kshatriya family, and some thousands of people living in all parts of Bankura district, and who are descended from the old-servants or retainers, soldiers or relations of the Bissenpur Rajas, are Kshatriyas † also by caste. It is worth while examining how far they can claim descent from the Kshatriyas of ancient India.

The Rajas of Bissenpur claimed descent from the Rajput kings of Jainagar near Brindaban in Northern India. And as the Rajput kings of Northern India claimed descent from the ancient Kshatriyas, the Rajas of Bissenpur claimed descent from the same stock. To this reasoning,—thus categorically put, we will reply categorically that the Rajputs of Northern India were not descended from the ancient Kshatriyas of India, and secondly, that the Rajas of Bissenpur were not descended from the Rajputs of Northern India.

* Bahadur Khan or Ranmash Khan founded the Musalman Raj family of Birbhum in 1600 A. D., while Abu Rai, the founder of the Kshatriya Raj family of Burdwan, was a Kotwal of that town in 1657

A. D. The Bissenpur Raj dates from 715 A. D.

† They pronounce the word as *Chhatri*, and often call themselves Rajputs.

The Rajputs came into India long after the original division into four castes took place. It is probable that they came from Scythia or some other part of Central Asia as late as the first century before Christ. They cleared their way, sword in hand into India, and settled down in the deserts and hills of Rajputana, because those barren tracts had not yet been colonized by the Hindus, and the new comers easily subdued the Bheels and other aboriginal tribes. It was scarcely possible for the new comers to live long in India without assuming the Hindu religion and civilization, and as the Rajputs were a martial race, they at once assumed their rank among the Kshatriyas of India. A few centuries after Christ, when most of the old Kshatriya kings in India had either embraced Buddhism or had degenerated, the new Kshatriyas of Rajputana, sent out colonies on all sides and founded new kingdoms in all parts of India. As new converts to Hinduism they had more faith in it than the old Kshatriya kings who had mostly embraced Buddhism; wherever Rajput established new kingdoms Hinduism was re-established in place of Buddhism, and Brahmans were only too glad to avail themselves of the assistance of these new allies in establishing their old supremacy.* In the ninth and tenth centuries after Christ most of the powerful kings in India were Rajputs. India has seen no braver or nobler Kshatriyas than the Chohans of Delhi, the Rathores of Canouj and Marwar or the "Solar race" of Mewar; but nevertheless these gallant tribes were Kshatriyas by bravery and nobility, not by their descent from the ancient Kshatriyas of India.

It is easy again to shew that the Rajput-Kshatriyas of Bissenpur are not descended from the Rajput-Kshatriyas of Northern India. The story by which the Bissenpur Kshatriyas connect themselves with the Kshatriyas of Northern India is thus told in Dr. Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal* :—

"Raghunath Sing, the founder of the dynasty of Bishnupur derived his origin from the kings of Jainagar near Brindaban. The story of his parentage is as follows :—The King of Jainagar, being seized with a desire to visit distant countries, set out for Purushottam, and on his way thither passed through Bishnupur, While resting at one of the halting-places in the great forest of that country, his wife gave birth to a son; and the King foreseeing the difficulty of carrying a child with him, left the mother and her baby behind in the woods, and went forward to his journey.

* The Brahmans describe this revolution in their own way. It is stated in the Agni Purana, that after the old race of Kshatriyas had been exterminated, God created a new race of Kshatriyas on Mount Abú (as Rajputana) for the propagation of the Hindu religion.

“Soon after the father had departed, a man named Sri Kasmetia Bagdi, (an aboriginal inhabitant,) when gathering fire-wood, passed by the halting-place, and saw the newly-born child lying helpless and alone. The mother never was heard of; and whether she was devoured by wild beasts, or found shelter with the natives, remains a mystery to this day. The woodman took the infant home, and reared him till he reached the age of seven, when a certain Brahman of the place, struck with his beauty and the marks of royal descent that were visible on his person, took him to his house.

“Soon afterwards, the King (an aboriginal prince) having died, his obsequies were celebrated with great pomp, and people from all parts went to the funeral feast. The Brahman being very poor went among the rest, taking Raghu with him. When the Brahman was in the middle of his repast, the late King’s elephant seized Raghu with his trunk, and approached the empty throne. Great was the consternation and terror, lest the elephant should dash the boy to pieces; but when the royal animal carefully placed the lad on the throne, the whole multitude, thunder-struck, at seeing a deed so manifestly done by the will of God, filled the place with their acclamations, and the ministers agreed to crown the boy on the spot.

“Raghu Nath Sing, therefore, was the first king of Bishnupur.”

Such is the story of the descent of the Bissenpur Kshatriyas from the Kshatriyas of Northern India. If it were not ridiculous to apply the rules of historical criticism into a story which is so apparently a myth, we would ask one or two questions. If Sri Kasmetia Bagdi, we would enquire, found the child by itself in the forest, how did he (or any one else) know that it was the child of the queen of Jainagar, and not of some unfortunate woman of the neighbourhood who might have better reasons for abandoning her child? If the king of Jainagar, again, found it impossible to carry the new-born child with him, could he not have left some part of his establishment with provision to take care of the queen and the male child until he returned from Purushotlam? Is there any evidence, one is inclined to ask, beyond the signs which the learned Brahman observed on the boy’s forehead and the conduct of the inspired elephant, to shew that the boy was a Kshatriya boy, and not a Bagdi boy? And lastly, is there any thing to fix the date or the authenticity of the story, or to shew that it was not fabricated when the Rajas of Bissenpur were powerful in Western Bengal and had assumed Hindu civilization, and were anxious, therefore, to make out a respectable royal descent for themselves?

But it is needless to make such enquiries; the story is exactly

such as is prevalent in all parts of India among semi-aboriginal tribes who connect themselves with Aryan ancestors. The aborigines of Birbhum claim descent from the great Bhima of the Mahabharata; we have ourselves heard the more advanced men among the aborigines of Hill Tippera claim descent from the Pandavas; and the semi-aboriginal Bediyas of Nuddia and Jessore claim descent from Kalketu renowned in the song of Mukunda Ram. The fact that the rajas of Bissenpur called themselves Mallas (an aboriginal title) for many centuries before they assumed the Kshatriya title of Sinha, the fact that down to the present day they are known as Bagdi rajas all over Bengal, as well as numerous local facts and circumstances,—all go to prove that the Rajas of Bissenpur are Kshatriyas, because of their long independence and their past history, but not by descent. The story of descent is legendary, but the Kshatriyas of Bissenpur can shew the same letters patent for their Kshatriyahood as the Rajputs of Northern India, or the original Kshatriyas of India could shew, *viz.*, military profession and the exercise of royal powers for centuries.

We have spoken of the Brahmans and Kshatriyas of Bengal. There are no Vaisyas or Sudras* in Bengal, and the remaining castes found in Bengal are therefore what Manu calls mixed castes. We have already stated that these mixed castes, *i. e.*, the modern castes of India were formed by the admixture of the mass of the Aryan conquerors with the aborigines, and the division of the united community into various different professions. There can be no doubt that when these castes migrated to Bengal, they received a fresh admixture of aboriginal blood.

The aborigines of Bengal who in each succeeding century embraced Hindu civilization and entered within the pale of Hinduism ranged themselves under the recognized castes according to the professions they came to follow. Those who kept herds called themselves Goalas, those who wove were styled Tautis, and those who took to pottery were called Kûmars. This process is, indeed, going on to the present day, and we shall only mention one remarkable instance of this process of assimilation which came under our observation very recently. A criminal case was recently tried in which it came out that a Tauti (weaver) widow had taken a second husband. This naturally caused surprise, as Tautis are recognized as completely within the pale of Hinduism, and remarriage of widows is not allowed among them. On enquiry

* The so-called Sudras of Eastern Bengal have no connexion with Manu's Sudras, but are simply aborigines of Bengal, who have become Hinduized. They are only about fifty thousand in number.

however, it was found that this particular class of Tautis were semi-aborigines (*Ohuars*) like Bauris or Bagdis, that they called themselves Tautis because the *taut* (weaving) was their profession, that though fast assuming Hindu religion and customs they had not yet entirely abandoned their own customs. We have no doubt that in the recent census these Tautis have been classed as Hindus, and not as semi-Hinduized aborigines; and we are perfectly sure, in the course of a few centuries, these Tautis will completely leave behind their aboriginal customs, and will be reckoned as pure Hindus like other Tautis.

It will thus appear that numbers of aborigines have by taking to different professions entered into the corresponding castes of the Hindus. More frequently, however, entire tribes of aborigines have, without splitting themselves into different professions, embraced Hindu civilization, *en masse*, and entered bodily, as it were within the pale of Hinduism, forming new castes at the lower end of the ladder. This process has gone on for centuries, perhaps for thousands of years, until it is impossible now to state which among the lower classes of Hindus were pure aborigines in olden times, and which of them have only an admixture of aboriginal blood in them. It is quite certain that all the lower caste Hindus have in them a large proportion of aboriginal blood, while some of them like the Kaibarta Dases were probably pure aborigines who have entered *en masse* within the pale of Hinduism.

The same remark applies to the Musalmans who form one-half of the population of Bengal Proper, *i.e.*, not including Behar or Orissa, Chota Nagpur or Assam. Of the eighteen million Musalmans of Bengal Proper by far the majority were low caste Hindus a few centuries ago; and of these low caste Hindus a large proportion were aborigines who had become Hinduized, while the remainder had in them a large admixture of aboriginal blood.

Thus it will appear that a very large proportion of the population of Bengal, Hindu as well as Musalman, can trace their origin to the aboriginal stock,

Lastly, there are numerous tribes of aborigines who have become partly Hinduized, but have not yet entirely come within the pale of Hinduism. Indeed, these tribes, Chandals, Bagdis, Bauris, &c., are in the very process of entering within the pale of Hinduism; and nothing can be more interesting than to watch the process, and to see how some tribes have come further towards Hinduism than others. We are not now speaking of the pure aborigines like the Sonthals but of the semi-Hinduized aborigines who have already adopted some Hindu customs, and have yet to adopt the rest. These semi-Hinduized aborigines repeat to us the unwritten history of those millions of Hindus and Musalmans

who were once aborigines, who have in past ages gone through the self same process, and who now form recognized members of the Hindu or the Musalman community.

According to the Census of 1872 Bengal Proper (*i.e.*, not including Behar or Orissa, Chota Nagpore or Assam) contains a population of 36 millions. This population may be roughly divided into four main sections, *viz.*, Musalmans numbering 17½ millions ; Hindus numbering 13 millions ; semi-Hinduized aborigines numbering 5 millions, and pure aborigines numbering less than half a million.* It is significant that out of the aborigines of Bengal in the present day, the great mass numbering five millions are semi-Hinduized, and are fast adopting Hindu manners, religion and civilization. Only a small proportion of them numbering considerably less than half a million like the Sonthals, Dhángars, &c., have still resisted the wonderful power of assimilation which the Hindu religion possesses.

The five millions of semi-Hinduized aborigines may be thus classed in order of their numerical strength :—Chandals, 16 lacs ; Rajbansis (of Rungpur, &c.) 7 lacs ; Bagdis 7 lacs ; Muchis 4 lacs ; Palis (of Dinagepur, &c.) 4 lacs ; Doms 2 lacs ; Haris 2 lacs ; Bauris (of Banburn &c.) 2 lacs ; others 7 lacs. Total 5,100,000.

Living in the same district, and often in the same village, the Hindu and the semi-Hinduized Aboriginal nevertheless present differences in their habits and ways of living which cannot but strike even the most careless observer. Belief in a highly developed religion and an elaborate superstition has made the Hindu even of the lower castes timid and contemplative ; a higher civilization has made him calculating thoughtful and frugal, and a long training in the arts of peace has made him regular in his habits, industrious in his toil, peaceful in his disposition. The semi-Aboriginal, on the other hand, presents us with a striking contrast in character in all these respects. He is of an excitable disposition and seeks for strong excitement and pleasures ; he is incapable of forethought, and consumes his earnings without a thought for the future ; he is incapable of sustained toil, and, therefore, oftener works as a field-labourer than as a cultivator. Simple, merry in his disposition, excitable by nature, without forethought or frugality and given to drunkenness, the semi-Aboriginal of Bengal brings to his civilized home many of the

* Foreigners, Eurasians and Native Christians do not altogether make even a quarter of a million, and have therefore been left out from the rough calculation given above.

virtues and vices of the savage aboriginal life which his forefathers lived. In every village in Bengal, where semi-aboriginals live, a separate portion of the village is reserved for them, and the most careless observer will be struck with the difference between neatness and tidiness, the well swept, well washed, and well thatched huts of the Hindu neighbourhood, and the miserable, dirty, ill-thatched huts of the *Bauri Para*, or the *Hari Para*. If a cow or a pig dies in the village it is flayed, and the meat carried home by the Muchis or Bauris, while Hindus turn aside their face and stop their nose in disgust when passing near such scenes. If there is an outstill in the village, it is in the *Bagdi Para*, or in the *Bauri Para*, it is thronged by people of these castes who spend their miserable earnings here, regardless of their ill-thatched huts and their ill-fed children.

The result of the outstill system has been discussed threadbare in journals and papers, nor do we wish to revive the discussion in this place. One or two main facts, however, may be mentioned. The mass of the Hindu population of Bengal are dead against drink and drunkenness; their frugality and habitual forethought, their naturally sober and contemplative turn of mind as well as their religious feelings keep them quite safe from contracting intemperate habits. A few educated young men, and a larger number of uneducated men of the upper classes may get addicted to drink, but the mass of the working classes, the frugal and calculating shopkeeper, the patient and hardworking Sadgop or Goala, the humble and laborious Kaibarta,—all keep away from drink. The boisterous merriment that is caused by drunkenness is foreign to their quiet, sober nature, and if a very few of them drink, they drink quietly at home before they retire at night. Far different is the case with the semi-Hinduized aborigines. Barbarians hanker after strong excitements and boisterous joys, and nowhere is drunkenness so universal as among barbarians. The Bauris, the Bagdis, the Muchis have enough of their old nature in them to feel a craving for drink, and the outstill system with the cheapening of spirits has been a boon to them. When spirit was dear, they made themselves merry over their Puchwai, and now that spirit is cheaper, they take to it naturally in preference to Puchwai. Of the numerous outstills and Puchwai shops in Burdwan and Bankura that we have visited, we have not seen one which did not mainly depend for its revenue on semi-aboriginal consumers. We never saw one single Hindu among the crowds of people assembled in liquor or Pachwai shops; when the Hindu does drink, he sends for the drink, and consumes it at home.

The distinction between Hindus and the semi-Hinduized aborigines is no less marked in the position of their women. Nowhere except in towns are Hindu women kept in that absolute seclusion which Musalman women delight in. In villages the wives and daughters of the most respectable and high caste Hindus walk with perfect freedom from house to house, or to the tank or river side for their ablutions. Respectable women go veiled while those of the lower classes go without veil or only half veiled.

No respectable woman will speak to, or can be accosted by a stranger, while even among the lower class Hindu women, except when verging on old age, few will often speak to strangers.

These restrictions entirely disappear in the case of the semi-Hinduized aborigines. Their women have the perfect freedom of women in Europe. Young wives, as well as elderly widows, walk without the apology of a veil through the streets, or the village bazar; they will talk to any one when necessary; and being naturally of merry, lively dispositions, (as all aboriginals and semi-aboriginals are,) they chat and laugh gaily as they pass through the most crowded streets. The young Tauti or Chutar women the Kamar or the Kamar's wife will often stand aside when a stranger is passing by the same road, but custom imposes no such rule of modesty on the women of the Bauris.

But if the semi-aboriginal women enjoy the perfect freedom of European women, they have often to pay dearer for their liberty. Household work is the lot of Hindu women, but the semi-aboriginal women must do outdoor work also. Wives as well as widows, mothers and daughters are all expected to work in the field or at the village tank or road, and so eke out the miserable incomes of their husbands, sons or fathers.

When a road is constructed by Government or a tank excavated by a village Zemindar, Bauri men and women work together, the men using the spades and the women carrying the earth in baskets. Wives often carry things for sale to the village market, while husbands work in the field; Chandal women in Jessore, Nuddea and elsewhere carry to the market huge baskets of fish which their husbands had captured over night, while the Bauri women of Bankura are the best coolies for carrying luggage or portmanteaus often twenty or thirty miles in a day.

There is a curious distinction made in field labour among the semi-aboriginal tribes. Ploughing and sowing are the duties of men, transplantation and weeding are the duties of women.

When the seedlings are grown in the nursery, and the fields are well ploughed and prepared for receiving the seedlings, the work of the men has ceased for a time.

To take the seedlings to the field and to plant them there in sand or in knee-deep water is the work of the women. They are said to be more proficient in their light but tiresome work than men, and some women are so proficient, that they will not work for others at daily rates of wages, but will earn much more by taking contracts for definite areas which they will plant with seedlings in a wonderfully short time. In the fertile valley of the Cossye, in the district of Bankura, we have seen rice-fields stretching one after the other for miles together, and all under transplantation. Bauri and other semi-aboriginal women are seen by the hundred engaged in this work, standing in the mid-day sun in wind or water, planting the seedlings with surprising nimbleness, or resting for a while, and gaily chatting with each other with that lightness and joyousness of heart which never deserts them. When the corn is ripe the tougher work of reaping belongs to man, though we have sometimes seen women take a part in it also. For the rest, the lot of these semi-aboriginal women is not a hard one, to judge from their healthy appearance and their merry faces; but when the husbands get drunk as they do as often as they can, the wives, we fancy, have a bad time of it, and wife-beating is very much worse among these semi-aboriginal castes than among Hindus.

In their social and religious ceremonies the semi-Hinduized aborigines are every day being drawn closer to Hinduism. The more respectable and advanced among them may indeed be said to have adopted Hinduism in all its main features, while even the most backward castes have adopted some Hindu customs. They all marry their girls at the early age of eight to twelve years and some times at 3 or 4 years of age like the Hindus, and the marriage ceremony is often an imitation of the Hindu ceremony. They all perform Sradh ten or twelve days after the death of their relations, and the ceremony is purely a Hindu one. They revere the Hindu gods and bow down to them when they go to see them in the houses of Hindus, and some of them, if they are able, worship Kali or Lakshmi in their own houses.

It would be an interesting task to examine the different degrees of progress which the different semi-aboriginal castes have made towards Hinduism, but our space forbids us from attempting this except in the barest outlines. The more advanced among them, *i.e.*, those who have been brought in contact with Hinduism since a longer period, like the Chandals, the Bagdis, the Meteyas, the Khoyras, the Lohérs, and others, have Brahmans

of their own just like the Hindu castes of Kaibartas or Goalas. These Brahmans (themselves semi-Hinduized aboriginal) wear the sacred thread, preside at all social and religious ceremonies, celebrate marriages and sraddhas, and in short, perform all offices which Hindu Brahmans perform for the Hindu castes. These high caste semi-aborigines, if I may so call them, are as punctilious about their food as the Hindus, and will not touch beef or fowl or the flesh of pigs. They have even adopted the baneful Hindu custom of not allowing their widows to marry,—a custom which has not yet been adopted by the less advanced semi-aborigines. Múchis call their priests by the name of *Purohit* or Brahman, and such Brahmans wear the sacred thread. Dóms call their priests by the name of *Pandit*, and these pandits will no doubt assume the name of Brahmans, and wear the sacred thread in course of time. These Purohits and Pandits preside at social and religious ceremonies and celebrate marriages and Sráddhas. Some Dóms wear a kind of black stone which they call Kalu Bir, or the black hero. As this caste is drawn closer to Hinduism, Kalu Bir will no doubt be considered a form of Krishna! Dóms eat fowls, but not beef or pork; Múchis eat both fowl and beef but not pork. Lowest in the scale of the semi-Hinduized aboriginals are Haris, Bauris, and other castes who have no recognized Brahmans, Purohits or Pandits, and who perform their religious and social ceremonies without the aid of hired priests. The parents and relations meet together and celebrate marriages, while Sráddha is signalized by big feasts in which Pachwai is consumed by the maund! It will thus be seen that different castes of semi-aboriginals have made different degrees of progress towards Hinduism, towards the adoption of Hindu customs and the worship of Hindu gods. It is in the very nature of things that barbarous tribes living for hundreds of years in close contact with civilized peoples should adopt their manners, their civilization, and their religion. Nevertheless the transaction in Bengal has not entirely been one-sided, and the civilized Hindus have in some instances, at least, acted not as leaders but as borrowers. The semi-Hinduized aborigines may take to themselves the credit of having added some godheads to the Hindu Pantheon, and the goddess of Monshá is perhaps the most remarkable instance. Hindu gods, as we have stated before, are rather revered and venerated even by the advanced semi-aboriginals than actually worshipped; but Monshá is universally worshipped by the most backward as well as the advanced semi-aborigines of Western Bengal, and the worship is continued for days together, and is attended with much pomp and rejoicing, and singing in the streets. The fact of the introduction of this aboriginal worship among Hindus is crystallized

in the story of Chand Saudagar, and is handed down from generation to generation. It is said, that the Saudagar refused to worship that goddess till his trade was ruined, and his dearest child was killed by snake-bite on his marriage day; then and then only was the merchant compelled to recognize the power of the snake goddess. It is significant, too, that the place which is pointed out as the site of this occurrence is near the Damodar river, which may be considered as the boundary line between the first Hindu settlers of Bengal and the aborigines. At what period the worship of Monshá crossed their boundary line and spread among the Hindus cannot be ascertained; but up to the present day the worship of this goddess among Hindus is tame compared to universal rejoicing and enthusiasm with which she is worshipped by her ancient followers, the present semi-Hinduized aborigines.*

One other puja which is performed specially by Bauris requires a passing notice. The worship of Bhader (in the month of Bhadra) is said to have been recently introduced into Bankura from Manbhum and other western districts. The worship is a purely aboriginal one, and the goddess Bhader is not recognized by the Hindus nor has yet obtained any Hindu worshippers. She is imagined to be a princess of excessive goodness and beauty, who took pity for the condition of the poor Bauris, but died at an early age. The Bauris have no priests, and so the women and children of each family chant songs day after day before this idol which they deck with flowers. For some days villages and streets resound with the singing of women and the merry shouts of boys. The last day, Bhadra, is the last and most important day of this primitive puja, and the worshippers forget all work and all cares in their laud and boisterous worship of Bhader. There can be no doubt the worship is connected in some way with the early rice harvest which commences in Bhadra. This is the time of national

* An ingenious and esteemed friend suggested to me that the worship of Chandi may also have been originally an aboriginal worship, and that the aboriginal goddess may have subsequently been recognized by the Hindus and identified by them with their own Durgá. The theory is not improbable, and the stories of Kalketu and Srimanta Saúdagar told in verse by Mukunda Ram, seem to point to the first introduction of the worship of Chandi among Hindus. But among the semi-aborigines of Western Bengal I have found no traces of the worship of Chandi, and without such

evidence the theory cannot be said to have been satisfactorily proved. In the same manner I have found no evidence of Dr. Hunter's theory, that Kali was originally an aboriginal goddess, and was subsequently introduced in the Hindu Pantheon. There can be no doubt, however, that many local deities of the aborigines have been kept up by the Hindus and worshipped under Hindu names. Baijnath (now called Baidyanath by Hindus) in the Sonthal pergunnas is a remarkable instance. Thus not only the aborigines but their gods also have become Hinduized!

rejoicings all over Bengal, and Hindus worship Durga, Lakshmi, and a succession of deities as this harvest goes on.

We have scarcely any space left for any lengthy account of the pure aborigines of Bengal, who have not yet been Hinduized to any extent. Happily it is not necessary to make any lengthy remarks about them. There are excellent works describing the manners and customs of the Sonthals, the Dhangars, and the other aborigines of Bengal, and a reproduction, or even an abstract of such accounts is scarcely called for here.

The aborigines of Bengal Proper number only 387,000 out of a total population of 36 millions, or in other words, slightly over one per cent. of the total population. Of these 387,000 no less than 140,000 are Sonthals, and no other tribe can boast of even a third of that number. The proportion for the whole of Lower Bengal and Assam is higher. There are $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions of aborigines in a population of 67 millions, *i.e.*, a little over 5 per cent. of the population are aborigines. But their ranks will grow thinner and thinner as tribe after tribe will gradually assume Hindu manners and religion, until, in course of time, all the aborigines of Bengal will become Hinduized more or less. Indeed, attempts are being made under our own eyes to bring these pure aborigines closer to Hinduism. One such attempt made in Western Bengal, two years ago, is of so remarkable a nature as to deserve a passing mention. Baskets full of leaves and each containing a written scroll were sent round from Sonthal village to Sonthal village. No one knew where these baskets came from, but it was believed that they had come from a certain Saint living on a mountain; and the written scroll contained a mandate on the Sonthals to refrain from drink and unclean meat, and to conform to many Hindu customs. The Sonthals of each village were directed to take the mysterious basket to the next Sonthal village, and so the mandate circulated from village to village, and from district to district, without any expenditure on the part of the person who had conceived the movement. So deeply were the Sonthals impressed with the holiness of the mandate, that many of them sold off their fowls, which accordingly became exceedingly cheap for a time; and they also conformed in other respects to the orders they had received.

R. C. DUTT, C.S.

ART. V.—LORD RIPON'S EDUCATION-POLICY.

THE *Minutes* of the Calcutta University for the year 1881-82 contain a reprint of the address to Convocation pronounced by the Marquis of Ripon as Chancellor on the 11th March last. Under ordinary conditions this would be an old matter to be treated of in September; but the fact that the Commission referred to in the address is still at work, justifies a few observations on the character of the policy traced by a nobleman who is not merely, the head of the University of Calcutta, but the head—for the time—of the Government of India. These Commissions bear a close resemblance to a similar feature of the administration of the Russian Empire. Under a non-parliamentary system it is both natural and useful, that an inquiry by experts should precede the action of the State. But in either case the action of the State is practically autocratic, and the report of the best Commission—even if unanimous—is but material; and in no case binding, except so far as it may adopt the impress of the autocratic mind.

The speech made by Lord Ripon so long ago, possesses indeed, little intrinsic interest. And it does not seem to have met with much attention, either in this country or at home. To say the truth, his Lordship, though an evidently sincere man, has never yet made much impression on public opinion; and the speech in question was not calculated to alter the general state of feeling about him. What he then said had neither the eloquence of his imaginative but brilliant predecessor, nor the calm wisdom—uniting synthesis and antithesis—of Sir H. S. Maine, to whose addresses in the same place Lord Ripon made very commendable allusion. Nevertheless, his speech deserves notice, not only on account of the station that he happens, for the moment, to fill, but also on account of one or two points touched upon as to which his opinions are not unlikely to have considerable influence on the future of India.

The first matter which received special mention was the degree to which the University was to sway the teaching of its affiliated schools and colleges. On this the Chancellor had nothing to say that rose above the level of commonplace. The University is to exercise a great controlling influence while leaving the utmost possible freedom to the subordinate institutions. It is difficult to find out what this means; but perhaps it was not intended to have any meaning; in which case it may be said to be a success.

On the next subject, however, Lord Ripon's trumpet gave no uncertain sound. Pledged as is the British Government in India "not to interfere, directly or indirectly, with the religion or the religious feelings of the Native population," he would not be expressing his whole mind if he were to conceal his "belief that what in the language of the day is called a purely secular education is not a complete education." People will differ on this subject; but all must agree that some significance must needs belong to such words uttered in such circumstances. Lord Ripon has never been thought an egotist; and it can hardly be supposed that he used this weighty expression only to air his own personal convictions. It must therefore be taken that the present head, not merely of the University but of the Empire, desires to see a religious element, or character, infused into the education of India as aided and directed by the ruling power. Nor is this, perhaps, quite so wild an idea as it may at first sight seem.

What are known as denominational views, indeed, neither ought to be taught by the State nor would it be possible to teach them. The various systems of Hindus, Muhammadaus, Papists, Protestants, etc. must be left to be expounded by the respective ministers and propagators of each faith, for all clerical influence should be, as far as possible, excluded alike from the curriculum of the University and from the teaching of the affiliated institutions. It is even a question whether such subjects as the "Evidences of Christianity," the "History of the Jews," or "Natural Theology" (all of which are subjects of examination) can be made compatible with strict neutrality. At least, so long as the Ethics of the Vedanta, the Rise of Islam, or the Law of the Wheel, are excluded from the list of subjects.

Nevertheless there is, in some aspects of modern philosophy, an ominous indication of what might happen if the State were to go on assuming that the study of Literature, History, and the various sciences, abstract and concrete, could be pursued through life with a total ignoring of the Infinite. Voltaire, in an oft-quoted passage said, that if there were no God, it would be necessary to invent one; and it can hardly be denied that the human race has, in all times, and in well nigh all places, differed from the other animal tribes in a vague yet obstinate sense of Something beyond the phenomenal world. Since the appearance of Locke and Hume, down to Kant and Hamilton, a growing feeling has spread, which is now developed by Herbert Spencer. All complete knowledge, it is held, must be relative; man can only cognise what he understands and verifies. But these teachers themselves—and Mr. Spencer

in particular—are fully conscious that there is more in the human mind. Whether from an intuition of truth or from a common sense of a common need, Man recognises the Infinite. In Mr. Spencer's teaching this recognition is treated as not inconsistent with the relativity of knowledge. Man may know that God is, and yet not know *what* God is. Perhaps the use of the word "know" may be objectionable; but if we substitute the word "believe," the practical importance of the doctrine will be little touched. How we can believe a thing to be without having a clearly defined notion of its character may be seen from an illustration. Let it be supposed that an intelligent young chief in the heart of Africa had been brought up by a Missionary to read English, and had from time to time read the copies of *The Times* which occasionally found their way to his teacher. So long as he lived (in possession of his faculties) this chief would know (or believe) that there were such things as Electric telegraphs, Public opinion, the claims of Humanity, and such like. All which (though he had never seen them) would make up in his mind an ill defined, and perhaps incomplete (or even erroneous) idea of civilisation; yet this must perforce make him a different man from the savages around him.

And so, to compare great things with small, a Hindu or a Musalman, a Catholic or a Unitarian, may—and probably must—share the common belief that, interpenetrating and actuating the phenomenal universe, there is a Power (beyond finite comprehension) that consecrates all honest effort and furnishes a continual antidote to Pessimism, the great foe of human welfare. If that idea were excluded from State education in any country it would be a doleful error, and one pregnant with the saddest possibilities. If this be what Lord Ripon intended to combat in denouncing "a purely secular education" men of all creeds can have no difficulty in going with him, heart and hand.

The next point taken up is also of intrinsic importance which is enhanced by the position of the speaker. Referring to the Commission now sitting, the Chancellor indicated that its labours would have nothing to do with the University, not much with the so-called colleges, and higher schools, but "a vast field in regard to primary education." The noble Marquis could hardly have spoken more clearly than he did without entirely ignoring the independent action of the Commission. Plainly, it has been settled beforehand that one of the main lines of policy to be recommended in the report is the creation of a number of new village schools, and a large increase

in the number of pupils. Speaking as a practical statesman, Lord Ripon does not think it well that there should be "a small highly educated class brought in contact with a large uneducated mass." This is a truth which would admit of expansion and might be enforced by many examples.

Society is an organism, and to grow healthily, its development must follow the common laws of organic growth. If we saw a plant, rooted in an unsuitable soil, which put forth bud and blossom on its upper branches under the unseasonable smile of a St. Martin's summer, we should naturally fear for the future of that plant. But it cannot be otherwise with a society that makes a brave show atop before its lower parts are in proper order. The most destructive catastrophes of history have been traceable to such a state of things.

It was, therefore, within the legitimate province of a Chancellor who was also a Viceroy, to urge upon those native noblemen and gentlemen whom he was about to clothe with administrative power, the propriety of their imitating the example of other countries in founding and tending schools for the people. And for these reasons his address, though not brilliant, contained—as it seems to us—suggestions which ought not to be forgotten or overlooked.

ART. VI.—IN SELF-DEFENCE.

BABU Syamacharan Ganguli has, in the last number of the *Calcutta Review*, devoted considerable space to criticism of the views of myself and of other persons regarding the Bihári language. As my name has been brought prominently forward in the discussion, I would ask leave to trespass again on the space of the *Calcutta Review*. I do not propose to answer all the arguments brought against me in this article, for many of them have already been answered before, and the rest will be found, treated of at considerable length, in the introduction to my grammars of the Bihár dialects which will shortly be published. There are a few errors in the article, however, which I am bound to correct at once, as they tend to diminish any little authority which may attach to my utterances, and thereby to injure the cause which I advocate.

In the first place, I must protest against Dr. Hoernle being made a stalking-horse from behind which to attack me. It places us both before the world in a false position, and leads people to think that he and I differ upon important points, and that he is a sober, practical philologist, while I, after half-mastering the introduction to his Gaudian Grammar, have hurried off on a wild-goose chase of my own, leaving him and prudence and hard facts, leagues behind. Now, this is just what is not the case; and it would be difficult to find two persons so thoroughly in accord on every point connected with the Bihári language as Dr. Hoernle and myself.

To shew how entirely wrong Syamacharan Babu is, I here quote in parallel columns a few statements as made by him, and opposite to them the actual facts:—

(1.) *Babu Syamacharan Ganguli*.—“It is, the *Eastern Hindí* of Dr. Hoernle whence Mr. Grierson has drawn his inspiration, and he would make the same a reality by creating a standard Eastern Hindí where at present none exists * * *

“Mr. Grierson parts company with Dr. Hoernle, drops the doctor’s Eastern Hindí (a term which, however objectionable,

The facts.

The name Bihári was first proposed by the Editor of the *Englishman* in an editorial published in the spring of 1881. It was next independently suggested by Dr. Hoernle as preferable to Eastern Hindí, and finally adopted by ourselves in concert for future use. I have hence—

(1.) *Not* parted company with Dr. Hoernle.

(2.) *Not* proposed the use of the term Bihári, and

nevertheless represents a reality,—an actually existing group of dialects) and boldly proposes *Bihárá* as the designation of a literary language for Bihár that is yet to be."

(3.) (see foot-note to my articles in the *Calcutta Review* for September 1881) I have not suggested it as a designation of any literary language present or future, but as the designation of a language current in various dialects, without a standard, and with small culture.

A propos of the objection made by Babu Syamacharan Ganguli, in the part omitted from the above quoted passage, to the use of the term Bihárá, I have no space here to enter into the question. It is fully discussed in the introduction to my Bihár grammars, shortly to be published. In the meantime if the Babu or any one else can suggest a better name, Dr. Hoernle and I shall be happy to accept it.

(2). The Babu advocates the extension of Bangálí into Mithilá, citing Dr. Hoernle as follows:—"Indeed, I am doubtful whether it is not more correct to class the Maithilí as a Bangálí dialect rather than as an E. Hindí one."

(3). Babu Syamacharan Ganguli maintains that the correspondence in regard to vocables between Hindí and Bihárá is enormous.

"Mr. Grierson points out a few differences in the latter respect, but he does not tell us aught about the proportion they bear to the agreements."

The facts.

I have Dr. Hoernle's authority for stating that he has no longer any doubts on the point, and that Maithilí cannot be treated as a Bangálí dialect.

Ample evidence on this point will shortly be forthcoming which will rather astonish Babu Syamacharan Ganguli, as Dr. Hoernle and myself have a Bihárá dictionary in preparation. In the meantime the Babu will probably be surprised to learn, that one man unaided was, the other day, able to collect more than four hundred words in one district alone, within one month, not one of which appears in Bates' Hindí Dictionary. It may be noted that less than one-tenth of these words were agricultural.

(4). Babu Syamacharan Ganguli states that I am not careful about my facts. He then, to contradict statements

In spite of what the Babu says, I am not in the habit of launching out into airy generalities on insufficient data.

of mine, says that 33 out of 42 educated Biháris from whom he enquired, had never heard of Bidyápati, while the remaining nine cannot repeat any of his lyrics.

habit, would be least likely to know anything about Bidyápati, and most likely to be ashamed of anything that they did know (for, alas for Bihár, it is too much the habit of men with a Persian education to be ashamed of their own native tongue). But I am willing to waive all that, and to adhere to my statement that the "name of Bidyápati is as much a household word amongst the inhabitants of Bangál and Bihár, as that of Tulsí Dás is amongst those of the Upper Provinces." Babu Syamacharan Ganguli says that the statement must have moved a smile on the lips of every Bangálí reader. Surely the Babu has read the literature of his own country and the sacred works of the most influential religion in Bangál. Has he become so thorough a Bihárl, that he has forgotten the life of Chaitanya and his love for Bidyápati's songs? Has he forgotten what a *Saṅkṛtana* is? Has he never read the *Vaiṣṇava Pada-Kalpa-Turu* or the *Práchína Kábya Sangraha*? Has he never heard of the well-known song beginning "Chandí Dása Bidyápati dui jana píriti"? When Babu Syamacharan Ganguli can answer all these questions in the negative, then I shall begin to think that perhaps our poet's name is not a household word in Bangál.

The second statement which the Babu traverses is, that "the graceful lyrics of Bidyápati are on the lips of every educated man in Bihár"; and so they are. He says that not one of his 42 Chhaprá friends could repeat his lyrics; and no doubt they said so, and yet, though they know it not, their whole household conversation is full of him. It is just the same all over the world. The words of the best poems are known to every one, and yet the authors' names are forgotten. Who in England knows the name of the author of "Home, sweet home," and yet that sweetest of all lyrics is familiar in every cottage. So it is in Bihár; every one knows quotations and phrases from Bidyápati, and yet few have an idea as to who the author of them was. Hence in spite of the Babu's arithmetic, I still maintain that the "graceful lyrics of Bidyápati are on the lips of every educated man in Bihár."*

I would point out first the very unfavourable and unfair test to which he subjects me. He selects the extreme Western and extreme Southern corners of Bihár, and enquires from pleaders and *amlá*, the very men who by their Urdú education and

* Compare Muller, Chips III, 107, — "The name of the poet is often forgotten, whilst many of his songs

have become popular songs, just because they were sung from the heart and soul of the German people."

(5.) *Babu Syamacharan Ganguli*.—Mr. Grierson's extraordinary theory may be contrasted with the very sober one of Dr. Hoernle, of which, indeed, Mr. Grierson's is a deteriorated edition.

(6.) "Mr. Grierson has found an able critic in Bábú Rádhiká Prasauna Mukherji, who, in two successive pamphlets, has effectively disputed Mr. Grierson's position."

(7.) Mr. Grierson admits that in Patna, Bihár and other Muhammadan towns, Hindústání is the current language.

The facts.

When the *Calcutta Review* did me the honour of accepting my theory for insertion, I had never seen Dr. Hoernle's Gaudian grammar, nor, I believe, had it been published. Besides, a reader of the whole of my theory, and not one short extract, will see that it and Dr. Hoernle's are identical, though necessarily couched in different terms.

I admit all this except the word "effectively." I am under the impression that Rádhiká Bábú's second pamphlet was printed for private circulation, and under this impression I answered it privately. If Babu Syamacharan Ganguli desire it, I can send him a copy of my reply. The first pamphlet is dealt with in my second article in the *Calcutta Review*.

Where did I ever make such an admission? I once wrote "in these Muhammadan towns as might be expected, Muhammadan influence, and the necessity of having a *lingua franca* as a means of communication with traders from all parts of India, have kept up and extended the use of Hindí, so that in these towns, and their immediate suburbs, the actual language of the country has, to a large extent, fallen into disuse"; but this is a very different statement.

Babu Syamacharan's hopeful prophecy of Hindústání some day extending all over India, must, I fear, be classed like many other wishes as one which is father to the thought. No doubt a multiplication of languages is a great evil, but we must take the languages as they exist, and not as we wish them to be. At present (*pace* the Babu's statement to the contrary) the Bihárá dialects

are mutually intelligible amongst the masses, while Bihárl and Hindústání are not. I am accused of wild theories because I ask for facts to be admitted, rather than that we should shut our eyes, and then deny their existence; while my opponent, who himself claims dry facts as his specialty, leads us off on one of the wildest and most Utopian theories ever discussed. Nations or tribes cannot change their languages by act of Parliament, but only by centuries of attrition, and seldom even then. Let us first acknowledge the existence of Bihárl, and then in the course of generations, when Panjábl and Gujarátl, Maráthl and Sindhl have been, or are being, absorbed by Hindústání, it will be time to see if it has found that footing, which hitherto it has failed to gain in Bihár. In the meantime, Bihárl will continue to exist in spite of all our Courts and all our schools, or our ostrich-like denial of its existence.

This of course is written under the impression that the meaning of Syamacharan Babu's language is that he looks forward to the time when Hindústání is to entirely supersede Bangálí, Maráthl and Gujarátl, which latter are to disappear utterly from the face of the earth. But if, as appears from another portion of his article, he looks forward to a prospect of Hindústání becoming the Imperial language of India, while at the same time it does not abolish the provincial ones, then, I would ask, what is the good of all his arguments? Supposing we do succeed, as I hope some day we may succeed, in establishing Bihárl as the officially recognized mother-tongue of the Bihárl area, that event would not interfere with the Babu's pet idea of an "Imperial Hindustání" any more than the recognition of Maráthl and Bangálí (which are now recognized) would. Bihárl would in not one whit more contradict it than Bangálí. Till the success of "Imperial Hindustání" is realized, Bangálí must exist and be recognized as the main means of communication in Bangál, and why may not my poor despised Bihárl be so too in Bihár.

But all this disputing is but leather and prunella. The real point is whether the people of Bihár talk a radically different language from Hindústání or not, and whether the latter can ever be accepted by the people as their national language. I answer these questions one way, and the Babu another; but I would point out that no one can answer them or discuss the question of Bihárl at all, until he has a thorough knowledge of all the Bihár dialects. I have not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with my opponent, but judging from his article, I should imagine that his knowledge of this part of the subject is not very complete, and I would urge him, before committing

himself to writing again, to study it. For this purpose the way will soon be made easy by the publication of grammars, reading books, and a dictionary; and I am vain enough to hope that a study of these not unimportant title-deeds will restore to Bihár the possession of its right,—its mother-tongue.

BANKIPORE, }
July 20th, 1882. }

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

ADDENDUM.

ON THE OPINIONS OF BIHARIS THEMSELVES.

Qua Bihár both my opponents and myself are foreigners, for a Bangáli is almost as great a stranger in Bihár as an Englishman. It is worth while, therefore, to see what evidence Biháris themselves give as to the facts of the case, for it is upon the facts used as premises that we advocates differ.

The *Behar Herald* of November 29th, 1881, contains a long letter from a Biháris gentleman on this subject. It is an answer to an attack on me which had previously appeared in the *Urdú Guide*, but it was in no way prompted or suggested by me; in fact, I did not know of its existence until some weeks after its publication. It may therefore be taken as the evidence of an educated unprejudiced Biháris witness. The letter is too long to quote *in extenso*, but the following quotation is to the point:—

“The question which Mr. Grierson has moved is one full of interest for all Bihár. Speaking generally, there have been, and there are at present, two parties in Bihár respecting its vernacular. . . . The Sanskrit knowing men and the Pandits have proposed Sanskritised Hindí for Bihár, and the Arabic and Persian knowing men and Maulvis have in their turn put forward the claims of a high flown Urdú. . . . It is for Government to hear the conflicting arguments of both parties and decide. Many things that people in Europe manage themselves require here in India, in its present state, the encouragement and assistance of Government. Now, I would ask whether the Government should lend their assistance to the one or the other of the two parties above described. Certainly to neither. Because both of them plainly ignore the claims of a rich vernacular language that actually exists in Bihár, and fight for an artificial hybrid language of their own coining, . . . as far as I can understand, Mr. Grierson advocates the cause of that Biháris vernacular language.”

That ought to be plain and direct enough, but to add further evidence on the point, I would refer my reader to the same newspaper for February 21st, 1882, where a highly educated Zamindar of Munger writes:—

“I understand that people are of opinion that Urdú is the language spoken in every family of Bihár. To tell the truth, this is not the fact. In Bihár, as elsewhere, the people use their own mother-tongue. The Tirhoot men have a language peculiar to their own district, and so have the

Maggaha and Bhogepore (*sic*) men, &c., which they always use in speaking with their respective families. These are quite distinct from Urdú."

This is evidence from a Maithil-speaking witness ; now, hear what a Bhojpúri witness writes. The gentleman is a Deputy Magistrate, a native of Shahabad,—and his evidence as to facts is the more valuable, as I believe, he differs from me in the conclusions drawn from them. He writes :—

"It appears that you have been informed by some persons that the Biháris of the higher classes, and their females speak Urdú in their daily mutual intercourse. The information is, I beg to state, as a Bihári, wholly erroneous, and I doubt if any Bihári holds such an opinion.

"As a rule, all the Biháris, high or low, both men and women, speak their own provincial dialect, *i. e.*, Bhojpúri, Tirhutí or Magahí. Both the sexes of the higher classes in their mutual intercourse use the dialect peculiar to their own district. Even the Kayasths, who as a class receive a regular training in Persian and Urdú from their childhood, and leave their homes at an early period in search of employment in distant districts, talk in the dialect of their native district, with their families, servants, and friends belonging to the same district. It is only in their intercourse with Muhammadans, residents of other districts, and people with whom they are not familiar, although belonging to the same district, that they converse in Urdú

"No doubt exceptional cases of one or two persons may be occasionally met with who, having resided in the North-West Provinces, or in some city for a greater portion of their lives, and having had less to do with people of their own district, have altogether forgotten their own mother-tongue.

"These men in their attempt to speak their own tongue cut the most ridiculous figure, and choose to speak Urdú, in which case they are always made the laughing-stock of their neighbours. It is a remarkable fact that uneducated Biháris of the Brahman, Rajput, and Bhuihar classes, even in their intercourse with strangers,* speak a mixture of Urdú and their own provincial dialect.

"I may even say that the custom of writing invitation letters in the dialect of the district in marriages, &c., to friends and relations, still prevails in the Dihát with a few exceptions.

"In conclusion, I beg to state that the females of the Kayasth class can generally read and write Kaithí, and some can read and understand Nagrí or Hindí Books. They, as a matter of course, correspond with their friends and relatives, but I do not remember to have ever heard or seen any letter in any other than the dialect prevailing in the district.

"These remarks, I hope, will fully prove that the opinion entertained by some (apparently by those who are unacquainted with the private life of the Biháris) that the higher classes talk Urdú with their females, is wholly unfounded."

The above evidence (and if desired, I can produce more of the same kind) ought to be strong enough as regards the Bhojpúri dialect, and speaking ; now, hear what three Magadh pandits from Gayá say about the question of writing.

The following question was put : "In what language do you correspond with each other ?" The answer given is—

"Añge ham sabhaní Magahí bolí meñ ápus meñ chitthí likha

* When educated men would speak pure Urdú. G. A. G.

hí, wo Hindí kabahíñ kehú na likhíñ," which is, being translated "Be it known that we all write letters between each other in the *Magahí bolí*, and no one of us ever (*the most emphatic negative possible*) writes Hindí."

I hope the above evidence is sufficient to prove that Hindí is never used in private life in Bihár, but that Bihárf always is. I have produced witnesses of three typical classes,—the Zamindár, the Government official, and the non-English-knowing pandit, coming from all parts of Bihár, from Mithilá, Bhojpúr and Magadh, who have given evidence both concerning conversation and correspondence.

G. A. G.

ART. VII.—VEDANTISM.

A POPULAR STATEMENT OF HINDU PANTHEISM.

VEDANTISM is that system of Hindu thought, in which an attempt is made to resolve the complex manifestations of the universe into unity. This is just what Spinoza attempted in his "unity of substance" in the universe, perhaps two thousand five hundred years later than the Hindu effort, and it is what Hegel sought to do still later in his doctrine of "absolute identity."

Spinoza taught that all being and phenomena are evolved from some ultimate eternal unity of substance or existence. Hegel taught that there is an *identity* running through all things; hence, subject and object, the ideal and the real, the finite and the infinite, the temporal and the eternal are at base the same, and the manifestations of the universe are but a "self evolution whereby the absolute enters into antithesis and returns to itself again." These pantheists, and others who think with them, do but hold and echo what had been taught by the gymnosophists, or naked philosophers of India, as Lucian facetiously called them, ages before.

Pantheism has widely pervaded Hindu thought. This was the latest development of the speculative intellect among the Hindus in their philosophic era. They had passed through the age of polytheism, had reached the idea of a God, or something supreme over all, and ended by concluding that this supreme one alone exists. When the Hindus were permanently settled in their home in India, and the priestly caste had become a learned order placed beyond want or the necessity of manual toil, leisure brought them opportunity for contemplation and profound speculation. The question of the origin, nature, and destiny of the universe would press upon them as it always does on the human mind in a high state of development. Greek writers give us a few glimpses of the naked philosophers as they sat in profound meditation in the Indian forests: Pantheism was one outcome of their ponderings.

It is a fact, not very remarkable perhaps, that the human mind when left to mere speculation, in its attempt to solve the problem of the universe, ends in the unity of pantheism. It was so in Greece; it is so in modern Europe. The doctrine of pantheism as taught in the Upanishads, the Vedanta philosophy and the Bhagavad Gita, has exercised a widespread influence on the belief of the Hindus, different from anything we find, or perhaps ever will find, among the practical peoples

of the West. The common mass of Hindus do not now, and certainly never did, comprehend this doctrine in all its subtleties. Comparatively few pantheists are met who hold the doctrine intelligently, yet a widespread notion exists that somehow God is not only over all and in all, but is the author of all and constitutes all that is or appears to be. Hence one will constantly find the most untutored Hindus affirming, that God does all, that he is responsible for all, and that apart from him there is nothing else, that every manifestation of existence is simply a part of God, and that ultimately every thing is lost or resolved in him. This will be stated by the unlearned, without any attempt to explain or understand the wonderful fact. Thus the subtleties of a system elaborated ages ago, have spread through distant generations in the form of a vague belief. Pantheism has a peculiar fascination for the Hindu mind. Many cling to this when compelled to abandon other phases of the ancient faith.

The simplest form of the Vedantist's creed, contains only three Sanskrit words which may be translated, "one only essence without a second." Another statement of it is:—"All this universe is indeed Brahma; from him does it proceed; into him it is dissolved." A converted Brahmin Pundit, Nil Kanth Shastri, a man profoundly learned in Hindu philosophy, says that this formula, as expanded and expounded by the advocates of the Vedanta system, may be thus stated:—Brahma alone—a spirit, essentially existent, intelligence and joy; void of qualities, and of all acts, in whom there is no consciousness, such as is denoted by 'I,' 'thou' and 'it,' who apprehends no person or thing, nor is apprehended of any; who is neither parviscient nor omniscient, neither parvipotent nor omnipotent; who has neither beginning nor end; immutable and indefectible, is the true entity. All besides himself, the entire universe is false, that is to say, is nothing whatever. Neither has it ever existed nor does it now exist, nor will it exist at any future time. And the soul is one with Brahma. Such is the doctrine of the Vedanta regarding the true state of existence; and it is denominated non-dualistic, as rejecting the notion of any second true entity."

According to Vedantism, and almost as Hegel taught, the universe is a succession of developments. It is an "evolution" as Spencer would say, from the homogeneous (pure unity) to the heterogeneous (complexity). It is a mental phenomenon, worthy of study, how these Indian philosophers, evolved a universe full of multiform life and being from a simple spirit essence, called Brahma, void of all qualities, of all acts, and of all consciousness.

This exploit they effected long before Spinoza and Hegel. The Vedantist begins his feat with the statement "That the one sole, self-existing, supreme self, the one eternal germ of all things, delights in infinite expansion, in infinite manifestation of itself, in infinite creation, dissolution and recreation, through infinite varieties and diversities of operation." The name *Brahma* given to this germinal essence, is from a root which means *growth* and *expansion*.

The Vedantin struggles as best he can through the contradictions and inconsistencies of his system. The eternal spirit essence, without attribute or consciousness or feeling, must in some way become conscious and delight "in infinite expansion," &c. Vedantins deny all attributes or qualities in the sole essence, because quality would introduce distinction according to their reasoning, and hence dualism. Besides, quality implies some kind of limitation, but the sole essence is unconditioned. In the same way this essence has no consciousness or apprehension, for these imply a *subject* and *object*, which would be dualism again. And yet they describe *Brahma*, or the sole eternal infinite essence, as "existence, intelligence and joy." But this is explained as sheer or abstract existence, intelligence and joy, as one might say of sweetness apart from the thing which is sweet, that it is sweetness, pure and simple, and not the quality of anything. The intelligence of *Brahma* must be the highest form of thought or meditation, according to the Vedant system, that is, thought without the distinction of subject and object. This is being, "without cognition." In the same way the "joy" must be an unconditioned something existing solely in and of itself. There must be no distinction between the enjoyer and something enjoyed, for this would imply dualism, the one thing constantly to be avoided. The Vedantin might say that of the nature of all this, was the infinite spirit of Christian theology, in the depths of eternity before creation began.

As we have seen, according to the Vedantin, the universe as it appears to us, is an evolution from *Brahma* who is held to be not only the efficient cause, that is, the producer of the universe by his power, but he is also the *material* cause of the universe, that is, the substrate, of whatever nature it may be, from which all apparently physical things are made. Various figures are used to illustrate this statement, "Nothing can come from nothing," hence the universal substrate must draw all things from himself. What the clay is to the jar, what gold is to the bracelet, what the spider is to the web drawn from it, such is *Brahma* to the world. Sankara, one of the chief Hindu commentators on the Vedanta system, writes :—"It may be objected that a carpenter

can make a house because he is possessed of materials, but how can the soul, being without materials, create the world? But there is nothing objectionable in this. The world can exist in its material cause, that is, in that formless undeveloped subject which is called soul, just as the subsequently developed foam, exists in water. There is nothing, therefore, contradictory in supposing that the omniscient, who is himself the material cause of names and forms, creates the world."

It may be thought that here the Vedantin must meet an overthrow of his monism, or pure unity; for, whatever may have been the beginning, we now encounter a multiplicity of separate forms and beings, which have been brought into existence by Brahma, and thus we now have dualism. But the Hindu Pantheist is equal to the emergency. He claims that the world is only phenomenal. The whole phantasmagoria presented to our senses, is one vast illusion. "Brahma alone exists, all else is false," is a fundamental dogma. The converted Brahman referred to, expounds this statement thus:—"In the estimation of the Vedantins, Brahma is universally diffused, and over portions of him, the world, a thing of falsity, is actually produced. Brahma is its substrate, and its illusory material cause, and ignorance is its material cause. The world thus is false, and therefore so are its name and form. Its existence in one way is false and in another way it is true; the former, when it is viewed as the world, the latter, when it is viewed as Brahma. Hence the Vedantins maintain that the world is false, and at the same time that it is identical with Brahma, inasmuch as it is Brahma himself that owing to ignorance appears as the world."

According to this system, five words comprehend the universe, i. e., existence, intelligence, joy, name and form. The first three are real; the other two are mere illusion, and constitute the world of phenomena. In discussing this subject, the Vedantin speaks of three kinds of existence, which are respectively called, "real existence," "practical existence" and "apparent existence." Real existence, it is said, can be affirmed only of Brahma the supreme soul. Besides him nothing else is reality. The second kind of existence called "practical," refers to the transactions and supposed realities of ordinary practical life. None of these really exist; all is mere illusion. The third kind of existence, the "apparent," differs from the second more in degree than in kind. By it is meant, that illusory kind of existence, in which by optical or some other kind of illusion we mistake one thing for another; for instance, a rope for a snake. Things seen in dreams, or in mental hallucinations, are classed here. The second kind of existence is held to be no more real than these, but we have

"practical" dealings with them. Practical existence is deemed real through ignorance, to which in the third kind of existence certain other mistakes and illusions are added. The special difference between these two forms of existence seems to be, that the practical has a certain kind of false reality which does not exist in apparent existence, with which we can have no practical dealings; for example, no one can bathe in a stream seen in a dream. And yet the Vedantic insists that the deception in practical existence is greater than in apparent existence, because the former seem more persistently real to us, while not being in the least more so.

We are prepared now to understand more fully what these Indian pantheists mean by the statement "Brahma alone is real, all else is false."

Naturally enough the question will come up, how did this phenomenal illusory world, which according to this system of pantheism has no real existence, come into *apparent* existence? In the answer to this question, an explanation of some obscure phrases in quotations made above will come in. Preceding the evolution of the universe, according to the Vedantin, the incomplex sole entity Brahma, willed to become multiple in the myriad names and forms and intelligences of the universe. The process of creation was effected and is maintained by a power of illusion or ignorance that can be exercised by Brahma, who by a kind of self-imposed ignorance, for his own amusement projects the phantasmagoria of the world. It is as if some powerful writer of fiction sat enjoying the phantasms of his own imagination.

The ignorance or illusion by which the phenomenal world is formed, has in it two powers, called respectively, the power of *envelopment* or *concealment*, and the power of *projection*. The first of these powers beclouds and obscures the soul and veils the understanding, so that the reality of things is lost. We must lay aside our Christian ideas of the divine spirit when we seek to understand what the Hindu pantheists say about this self-imposed ignorance of Brahma. And yet, have not even Christian writers suggested a kind of abdication of knowledge by Deity in some matters. Clarke the commentator, advanced the opinion that God did not choose to foreknow the fall. Chevalier Ramsey held the opinion that God does not choose to know contingent events.

Of the *projecting* power of ignorance the Vedantins say that just as ignorance produces the illusion of a snake and raises up its form on a rope, so this ignorance exercised by Brahma, projects or raises up the phenomenal universe on the soul enveloped by it. Individual souls are thrown from it by the supreme soul and become the subject

of this illusion. Referring again to our converted Brahmin, he says on this point: "With reference to the soul, the Vedantins hold, that though it is Brahma, yet being subject to illusion or ignorance it has forgotten its true nature, and, looking upon the internal organ and the body as real, and identifying itself with them, considers itself to be man, and the like. And, although all things in vicissitudinous life are false, from ignorance, soul thinks them true, and calls some of them mine, and the rest others, and imagines some things make it happy, and that others render it miserable."

Thus a universe of phenomena and experience has come into existence. It is a curious fact that according to the Vedanta philosophy, the evolution of the material or physical universe is in something of the same order indicated by the nebular hypothesis as may be seen in the following quotation from the *Vedantsār*, a treatise on the pantheistic philosophy by one of the most successful native expounders: "From intelligence associated with ignorance attended by its projective power, in which the quality of insensibility abounds, proceeds ether, from ether air, from air heat, from heat water, and from water earth. As the Veda says, 'from his, from this same-self, was ether produced.' The prevalence of insensibility in the cause of these elements is inferred from observing the excess of inanimateness in them."

Vedantins hold that the individual soul while separated from the supreme soul, is encased in a succession of sheaths or bodies enclosed one within the other. The first may be called the intellectual sheath, the next is the mental sheath, and the next is the vital sheath. These three constitute the subtle body which attends the pure spirit or fragment of Brahma in its rounds of transmigration. Over this subtle body is a fourth, the gross frame composed of the coarse elements assimilated from food, and which is animated from birth to death. There is something here faintly resembling the three-fold organization of body, soul and spirit, advocated by some Christian writers. Some German writers are now conjecturing that there is a subtle soul-body enclosed in the body of flesh and blood.

According to the Vedantin, salvation is deliverance from these successive spirit encasements, so that the liberated spark may mingle again with the universal divine flame. How to unravel these subtle coils, and arouse from the enchanted dream of ignorance, is the great problem of life. Deliverance is achieved by certain sacrifices, by religious exercises, by asceticism, by pious meditations leading to a perfect knowledge of the nature of things and of the sole divine reality.

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Bareilly.

ART. VIII.—LEGENDS FROM THE MURREE HILLS.

THE name Murree is well known to all Anglo-Indians as that of the Hill Station, which until lately the Panjab Government used as its summer resort. It has been applied under the English to the Sanitarium itself, the range of hills in which it is situated, 7,000 feet, to 8,000 feet and to the *tahsil* of the Rawâl Pindî district of which it is the head-quarters. The station and the *tahsil* are clearly of English origin, and I think the name itself, as a general one, is an English invention. The hills appear to be really great spurs of the Pîr Panjâl or Mid-Himâlayan ranges, and, as usual, to have had no generic native name. When the English, soon after the conquest of the Panjâb, fixed on a point as a Sanitarium in 1850 and called it Murree, they gave the whole range or spur the same name, and by this it is now generally known.

The individual hills have, of course, separate names. Thus there is the Marh (*markî*) Hill, whence the Sanitarium takes its name, the Paphûndî, Kotlî, Karor, and Panjâr Hills in its neighbourhood, besides Topâ, Tâbbâ, Giriâl,* etc., and the Galîs (Gullies), which last are situated mostly on the road to Abbotabad Cantonnments, 40 miles distant. There are several of these Galîs, e.g., among others, Ghorâ Galî, just below Murree, and Kairâ Galî, Chaunra (*Anglice* Changlâ) Galî, Dûngâ Galî, and Bâra Galî on the Abbotabad road. The word Galî as applied to a hill is not very clear. It is, however, common in the district, and turns up again in Jhikkî Galî on the Kashmîr road, Dîn Galî on the Jhîlam, the old head-quarters of the celebrated Gakkhars in the days of their power and in the Mârgalâ Pass. Galî may be the same as giri, a hill, or mountain, to be seen in so many compounds. Monier Williams, in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* says, "*giri*, said to be from root *grî*, perhaps originally *gari* or *garu*." And with it may be compared the neighbouring name of a hill Giriâl. But the word is usually taken to mean a neck (*gal*) of land, a watershed, divide, or saddle.

The Post Office and officially correct spelling of the Sanitarium name is "Marri" or "Marî," and I have seen مزرى (*sic*) on the *chuprâs* of more than one *chuprâsî* in the place. As regards the spelling "Murree," I have nothing to say, except that it has

* Not Ghariâl as usually spelt this name by the young lady and pronounced. Garry Hall is visitors to Murree.
another favorite pronunciation of

become fixed now just as Calcutta, Bombay, Bassein, Lucknow, Cawnpore, &c., are fixed and recognised, but "Marri" or "Marî" I think quite wrong, and I submit that the proper and correct spelling should be Marhî (مرہی or मरही.) This I will now endeavour to prove.

Murree, as above said, takes its name from the Marhî Hill, now called by the English Pindî Point, and still by the natives the Marhî or Marh Hill. The Marhî Hill is so called from the *marhî* hill temple or sacred place on its summit, still in the possession of a Brahman. There are many *marhs* or *marhîs* all over the Panjab Himâlayas, whether the Pir Panjâl or the Dhaulâ Dhâr, and among the Gaddîs or Hindu shepherd class of the Kangrâ and Chambâ Districts, the word means also a house, thus—

Ajî Gaddî terâ marhe bich nahînon.

To-day thy husband (*lit.* shepherd) is not in the house, is from a Kângrâ folksong in my possession. The usual meaning now for *marhî* is a hill temple, jogî's hut, or other sacred or haunted hill-side house. This word I would trace thus: Diminutive *marhî* from *marh*, *marhâ* or *marhwâ* = *madhâ* *mandhâ* or *mandhwâ* = *mandhap* and *mandap* (still in modern use), from the Sanskrit *mandapa*, a temple. The general senses of the above words, all in actual use, are a temporary building or nuptial bower, a hill temple or jogî's hill-side hut. The word *mandapa*, Monier Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary*, article मण्डप derives from (probably) *manda* and *pâ*, which would mean the place for the keeping of the ornaments, the place of festival. The root *mand* means to dress, clothe, ornament, adorn. The processes necessary for the change from *mandapa* to *marhî* seem to me to be reasonable and legitimate. Other forms of *marhî* still in use are *manraiya*, *marhaiya* and *marat*.

I would further remark that the word appears to exist in the same sense in the name of another Sanitarium, *viz.*, Pachmarhî in the Central Provinces, situated in the Mahâdeo hills in the Hoshangâbâd district. The *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 1870, p. 388, says, "there are some interesting ancient temples at Pachmarhî." This might be expected from the name. Again, as regards the name Marhî, Major Cracroft, *Settlement Report of the Râwal Pindî District*, 1875, pp. 9, 10, secs. 32, 33, says, in describing what he calls the "Murree Mountains," that the most remarkable ranges are the Murree Mountain with its raised trees and views, the Puffoondee Mountain covered with *pinus*

excelsa and the Murh Mountain with its extensive plateau, extraordinary geological formation and copious springs of water, etc."

In Murree, as elsewhere, there are now two sets of names for the different hills, one native and the other English. Thus we have Asylum Hill, Pindî Point (Marhî Pahâr), Barrack Hill, Terrace Hill (Pâñch Pândû), Pinnacle Hill, Cashmere Point Sunny Bank, etc.

Mountains all the world over are especially the home of folktales, and nowhere more so than in India, and signs are abundant about the Murree Hills to show that they are no exception to the rule. Thus Major Cracroft writes (p. 10, sec. 35) of the lower Murree ranges. "Further south the mountains change in aspect; they are less lofty and more irregular, but still adorned by beautiful trees; their shapes become more diversified and angular, sometimes pyramidal; the valleys are broader and there is more cultivation; the villages and hamlets are picturesquely placed on the hill-sides in nooks or on projecting spurs, and occasionally the ruins of an old castle recall the bygone splendours of a Gakkhar chief, or a fort the tyranny of the grasping Sikh. Altogether the scenery, though less grand, is more picturesque. Few excursions could be more delightful than a tour from Rawal Pindî *viâ* Chirrah, Murree, Kahûtâ, Owan (on the Jhîlam), Beor, Nârâ, Sâligrân, Kallar, Dîn Gali (on the Jhîlam) to Gûjar Khân on the Grand Trunk Road." Would that one had the opportunity of sitting on the hill-side beside some Gakkhar castle and gathering from the old cronies of the neighbourhood the marvellous tales they would be sure to have of its origin and of the deeds performed by its owners! I have not been able to do this, but what tales I have been able to gather, wonderful enough in their way, will be related in the course of this article.

Passing over times very long gone by, from the Greek occupation to that of the Mughals, the more recent history of Murree is involved in obscurity, as indeed that of the whole of this part of India is, distracted as it has been by conquest, misgovernment and party feuds for many centuries. Up to 1770 A.D. these hills were practically in the hands of the Gakkhars, a mighty tribe in days gone by, who, it is curious to note, now claim Persian descent from (1) Kai Kâûs of the Kaianian dynasty, * laying claim to their possessions as a gift from

* Cracroft, *Settlement Report*, says from "Khyr-Gowher, Khyanee." There was no such monarch, *vide* note at p. XXVI of Brydges' *Dynasty of the Kajars*, 1833, and in Beales' *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, s.v.,

Kai Kubâd. I fancy Kai Kâûs is meant, which monarch is said to have reigned 150 years! Sir W. Jones with justice called the Pishdadian, or first Persian dynasty fabulous, and the second, or Kaianian, poetical.

Mahmûd of Ghaznî in A.D. 995, in whose train they say that their ancestor Gakkhar Shâh "came over." This story is clearly legendary and militates against the doubtless truer tale that 30,000 Gakkhars, taking the side of Prithvî Râjâ in 1008 A.D., nearly succeeded in staying the advance of Mahmûd in the Chach plains. The changes are, that they are an aboriginal tribe, who, according to Hunter (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VIII, 45), were forcibly converted to Islâm by Shahâbud-dîn Ghorî about A.D. 1205.

They appear to have been easy masters and to have well treated the hardy and warlike tribes, Dhûnds, Satis, Dhaniâls, Khetwâls, and others over whom they ruled. In 1770 the Gakkhars were completely overthrown by the Sikhs, and hard times came upon them and their subjects, for rapacity and tyranny were the only representation of Government they saw, until their misfortunes reached a climax, when, what are now the Murree and Kahûtâ *tahsils*, were given to Gulâb Singh, the Kashmîr hero, as a *jâgîr* about 1831, soon after the hill tribes had been finally subdued by the great Sikh Sirdar, Hari Singh Nalwâ. The awful tyranny exercised by the Kashmîr Mahârâjâ depopulated these hill districts, and they are only now recovering their former prosperity. "It is said, that whenever the *zamîndârs* were recusant he would let loose the Dogras among them, and rewarded the former by a poll rate for hill-men of at first one rupee, then eight annas, and finally four annas, and that he thus decimated the population. Other tales are told of his cruelty in these and other *ilâqâs*, which, if true only in part, would class him with the Neroes and Caligulas of the human race. A general door-tax (!) he levied was so unpopular, that the people rebelled and were visited with severe retribution." From this misery they were released by the advent of British rule in 1848-9, when Gulâb Singh's possessions in the Rawal Pindî district were exchanged for other lands across the Jhîlam and the merciful taxation of Major Abbot brought them relief.*

The tribes of the actual Murree Hills are mainly Dhûnds, Satis, Dhaniâls and Khetwâls. They are all Muhammadans, like the bulk of the Rawal Pindî population, and are, at any rate, the Dhûnds, considered *sâkhs*, or "gentlemen" by descent, as opposed to *zamîndârs* or "labourers." Their legends of their own origin are as interesting and as unlikely as that already mentioned of the Gakkhars.

The Dhûnds, and with them the Jasgams and Kutrls, say that they are descended from 'Abd-ul-Manâf, the ancestor of

* Cracroft : *Settlement Report*, sections 171-81, 194, 312 and 342.

Muhammad the Prophet,* and they claim their possessions from one Zuber, unknown to history otherwise, a descendant of the Prophet, who came from Arabia and settled near Kahûtâ. However, Major Cracroft considered them converted Hindus, as no doubt they are.† He says that they are a treacherous, fickle and dangerous population, but that the Satis are a finer and more vigorous race. The Dhûnds went against us in the Mutiny, giving some trouble, but were severely dealt with in the end.‡

Their hereditary enemies the Satis claim a longer occupation of the soil and a descent from Nausherwân the Persian.§ The Dhûnds, however, tell a very different tale regarding them. They say that a child of a Hindû Dhûnd (!) named Kallû Rai,|| by a slave girl was born *en route*, at the foot of the Marh Mountain (near Murree), as the parents were travelling westward from eastern parts across the Jhîlam. They deserted the child there, as they had lost their way, and it was picked up three days afterwards by a Brahman (!), who called it Sat, or Steadfast Faith. Sat became the progenitor of the Satis. This tale, by the way, would give the Satis also a Hindû origin, as is, indeed, more than likely the true state of the case.

The Khetwâls go back much further than the Dhûnds and Satis for a legendary origin, and say they are descendants of Alexander the Great (!), and hence naturally that they were in Murree long before the other tribes. They are very few in number now, something under a thousand, but they stood by us in the Mutiny days and were rewarded by a light assessment. There is a noteworthy story told to account for their decimation. A certain woman of theirs called Ab eloped with a strange man across the Jhîlam and was hotly pursued by the tribe, who consequently left their homes unprotected. This gave a chance to the Dhûnds, who came down and destroyed every thing and every body. Meanwhile the pursuers came to a frozen lake, and mistaking it for hard ground, began to cook on it, which melted the ice and

* 'Abd-ul-Manâf Qureshî was the father of Hâshim, father of 'Abd-ul-Muttâlib, father of 'Abdullah, who was the father of Muhammad the Prophet.

† Major Wace, whose admirable *Hazârâ Settlement Report* of 1876 contrasts so favorably with Major Cracroft's *Rawal Pindî Report* of 1875, places their conversion at quite a modern date.—paras 17, 18, pp. 58-9.

‡ The natives in the Murree Bazar told me, I cannot say with what truth, that George Battye hanged 150 of them in one morning.

§ Nausherwân reigned A.D. 531-79, and, supposing the Dhûnds to be as they say Arabs, they would come over sometime during the Arab occupation of Sind, A.D. 713-871. According, then, to their own traditions, the Satis could not have long, if at all, preceded the Dhûnds in these parts.

|| It is to be observed that this legend opposes the Arab origin of the Dhûnds and supports the correcter belief as to their Hindû origin.

the party was engulfed. Another version is that, after destroying the homes of the Khetwâls, the Dhûnds found the remainder so reduced in strength, that they were able to destroy them, too. Hence arose a proverb:—

*Ab lore,
To sab chhore.*

Search for Ab and lose all.

The Dhaniâls claim practically the same descent, and doubtless in one sense rightly, as the Dhûnds, Jasgams and Kutrîls, for they say that they are descended from 'Ali-ul-Murtaza, or in other words, that they are Sayyids (!). * They are a turbulent lot and have given much trouble since the accession of the British rule.

Lastly, there is an inferior tribe called the Trûnds, said to be the offspring of Satis, Dhûnds and Jasgams by low caste wives and concubines. They are few in number and insignificant.†

Let us now return to the Marhî Hill, and we shall find that on the extreme summit of Pindî Point, 7,266 feet, and exposed to every wind, is a small flat open space 20 yards north and south, by 18 yards east and west. On the east side some sandstone rocks crop up inclined at a steep angle, as are all the rocks forming the ridge. A strong loop-holed watch-tower of stone, some 20 or 30 feet high and 16 feet square inside, has been built by the English over the *marhî* which itself appears to have been previously only an open hollow about 16 feet square and 3 feet deep on the hill top. It is now boarded over and is under the floor of the tower. It is entered through an open trap-door, 2½ feet square, by a short ladder of 3 rungs and consists of the ordinary rock floor, on which some rough flat stones from the neighbouring rocks are lying. These, when I saw the place, were covered with bunches of dead wild flowers and some red lead (*sindûr*), and near them were collected a quantity of small unbaked earthen *chirâghs*, lying in heaps, but otherwise the place was empty.

For sometime after it was built, the tower was used as a police barrack, but the guard has been removed to a more convenient and less exposed spot. The natives, however, say the removal took place owing to the displeasure of the guardian spirit of the place at something the guard did. The tower consists of two stories, the upper one being in a fair state of preservation, but the lower floor is very rickety and broken down in places, and the entrance to it is delapidated. The upper floor is reached from the outside by a ladder of eleven steps and can also be reached by a trap-door from the inside. The outer door of it is of strong wood and is

* 'Ali was the son of Abu-Tâlib, who the son of 'Abd-ul-Muttâlib and brother of 'Abdullah, the father of Muhammad the Prophet. 'Ali was

therefore first cousin, as well as son-in-law to Muhammad.

† Cracroft's *Settlement Report*, secs. 218, 220-6, 342-6.

now unlocked, consequently it flaps in strong winds, which the natives say is a miracle, i. e., they suppose that the spirit of the place shuts and opens it at will.

In the popular idea the tower was built by the English for the benefit of the public, who visit it as a holy place. This notion is, however, clearly wrong, as it was evidently built for defence.

In the rocks to the east is a small hollow in which I saw some stones spotted and marked with red-lead and the inevitable unbaked earthen *chirdghs* lying about. It is said to have been the dwelling of the *faqir* whose doings here have made the place celebrated and sacred.

Near the rocks, too, are the rough walls of a roofless native hut, and foundations and signs of former huts are abundant all about the place. The summit of the hill can be reached with ease by pathways from all sides, and is surrounded at a lower level by European houses.

The *marhî* has become famous from the miracles performed there by an old *faqir* in days gone by, regarding whom a very curious legend is told. It is now in charge of a Brahman of the Rawal Pindî District of the (?) Gokaliâ Gosâin Got, who does not live there, but is *pujari* of Munshi Bishambar Nâth's temple or *Mandar* in the Murree Sadr Bazar. He comes to it every month at the full moon, during which a sort of fair is held by Hindus and Muhammadans alike. The Hindus offer milk and *halwa*, and the Muhammadans bring sheep and goats, which they slaughter on the spot, and also sweetmeats. Whatever is brought by the devotees must be distributed among themselves and eaten then and there. None of it, not even the cooked flesh, may be taken away. If it is, it will go bad, and some calamity will overtake the offender. The usual pice are laid down for the benefit of the guardian Brahman. The Hindus worship the place as being sacred to Râjâ Karan,* and the Muhammadans because they say that the *faqir*, who used to live there in Râjâ Karan's time, can bring them salvation, but there is no god or *dev* attached to the place. The story of the connection of the *faqir* with Râjâ Karan and their doings at the *Marhî*, forms the subject of the following legend :—

I.

Legend of the Marhî on Pindî Point.

Once upon a time there lived a *faqir*† in the *Marhî* who used to keep up the sacred fire‡ there, and every morning Râjâ Karan,

* *Karna* was the half-brother of the Pandavas : see Legend.

† The man was always called a *faqir*, not a *jogi*; this, however, does not mean much, as now-a-days both

faqirs and *jogis* are Hindus and Musalmans indifferently.

‡ *Dhâni* is the fire lighted by an ascetic for the purpose of inhaling the smoke as a penance,

who lived in the days of Râjâ Bikramajît used to come and see him. Now, in the mornings the faqîr used always to keep some oil frying in a large pan on his fire, and when Râjâ Karan came to him, he used to take him and throw him into the pan, and then fry and eat him. After this he would collect the bones that remained and bring them to life again. As a reward for submitting to this pleasant process, the faqîr used to give Râjâ Karan 125 lbs. * weight of gold every day, and this the Râjâ used to give away in charity before he had anything to eat, nor would he break his fast until he had obtained his gold and distributed it. When he got accustomed to it, he used to come to the faqîr and throw himself into the frying pan without a word.

One day it so happened at the Mânsarobar Lake,† where the swans live, eating nothing but pearls, that the pearls failed, and there was a famine. So the swans had to leave the lake, and one pair flew away and alighted in the garden of Râjâ Bikramajît at Ujjayin. The gardener came and told him that a pair of swans had come into the garden, who would eat no kind of bird's food. So the Râjâ went into the garden to see for himself and asked the swans why they would not eat bird's food.

"We do not eat grain," they answered, "or fruit, but only unpierced pearls. Our home is in the Mânsarobar Lake, where we eat nothing but pearls."

Whereupon the Râjâ took to feeding them with as many pearls as they wanted from his own hand every day, and they continued to live in his garden for a long while. But one day as the Râjâ was feeding them as usual, one of the pearls turned out to have been pierced and the swans found it out at once. And from this they knew that Râjâ Bikramajît was running short of pearls and they determined to go northwards again. So they said to the Râjâ, "we want to go to the North, where the Râjâs are faithful and true." But the Râjâ wanted them to remain saying, "I will do all I can for you, but if you want to go—go."

So they went to the North, and it so happened that while Râjâ Karan was distributing his 125lbs. weight of gold as usual, the

* i.e., a maund and a quarter.

† The great Lake of Mânasa-sarovara, has been famed from all time. It is the Tsho-mâphan of the Tibetans, and is situated in the Kailâsa Range of the Himâlayas. It occupies 16 square miles of country, and according to Cunningham, is with its neighbour, Lake Râvana-brâda, the source of the River Satlaj; but according to Dowson, the latter only is the source

of the river.—See Cunningham's *Ladâk*, pp. 128-36 and Dowson's *Classical Dict. of Hindu Mythology*, s.v. It is the original fabled home of the hargsa or râjbagasa, which may be as well translated swan as any thing else. The bagasa is universally supposed, as in this tale, to live on pearls alone, whence the majority believe that it lives somewhere on the sea coast in the direction of Lanka or Ceylon.

swans flew over the village of Chitrâdûgâ where the charity was going on. This village is 4 or 5 miles to the North of Murree, and the swans as they flew over it called out in praise of Râjâ Bikramajît, "glory to Râjâ Bikramajît ! Glory to Râjâ Bikramajît !" Râjâ Karan heard them, and had them caught by a bird-catcher with lime and put them into a cage, saying, "I should like to know who he is that is greater than I, that the birds should praise him so much."

He had every kind of bird's food placed before them, but they would not eat any of it. So the Râjâ asked them why they would not eat, and they answered, "there is nothing we could eat in the food that has been placed before us. We can only live on pearls."

So the Râjâ gave them pearls to eat, but they would not eat them. Again the Râjâ asked the reason, and the female swan said to him, "what harm have we done that you have imprisoned us ? And besides Râjâs only imprison males and not females, so at least you might let *me* go. If Râjâ Bikramajît were here, he would release us both at once."

So the Râjâ let her go on her promising faithfully to return. She at once flew to Râjâ Bikramajît's garden, and the gardener went to the Râjâ and told him that one of the pair of swans had returned. He went at once into the garden and asked the swan what had become of her companion. She began to weep and said, "we were flying past Râjâ Karan's country, and as we flew along we praised you loudly. He heard us, and had us both caught and put into a cage, and he has only let *me* go on my promising faithfully to return in a few days. So I have come to ask you for help." Hearing this, the Râjâ said to her, "have something to eat first, and then return whence you came. I will go myself and free you."

So the swan flew back to Râjâ Karan, and he locked her up again with her husband. Presently Râjâ Bikramajît arrived in the garb of a servant and took service with Râjâ Karan calling himself Bîkrû.* He soon learnt all the secrets of Râjâ Karan's house, and found out where and how he got the 125lbs. weight of gold for his daily charities.

* This form of name shows the lowly state that the Râjâ had assumed. The termination û is a diminutive sign, and is used in the names of children, and low caste or insignificant people, e. g., the name Devakti

Nandan would become Nandû, Shiv Diyâl would become Shibbû, and so on. Thus also the old name Parasurâma is the modern Paras Râm and familiarly Parsâ, and diminutively Parsû, whence the proverb—

Is daulat men tîn nâm

Parsû, Parsâ, Parsû Râm.

According to station are these names,
Parsû, Parsâ, Paras Râm.

So one day when Râjâ Karan went as usual to see the *faqîr* at the *Marhî*, Bîkrû followed him. He saw the whole thing, how Râjâ Karan jumped into the frying pan of oil, was cooked for half an hour, and then eaten by the *faqîr*. And he saw, too, how the *faqîr* joined the bones again and restored them to life.* After this he saw the *faqîr* take his ragged old coat and shake out of it 125lbs. of gold. And then Bîkrû knew that he had found out the whole secret.

A few days later Bîkrû cut himself in several places and sowed into the cuts pepper, salt, spices, some pomegranate seeds and flour of pulse. He then went to the *faqîr*, half an hour before Râjâ Karan's time for his visit, and jumped into the frying pan.

In half an hour the *faqîr* took him out and eat him and was very pleased, as he found him very good eating indeed, saying, "I never had such a dinner before."

He then brought Bîkrû to life and said,

"I am so pleased that I will do whatever you wish." Then said Bîkrû, "I have been having myself cooked every day to please you, suppose you give me something that will enable me to live comfortably at home and give daily charities as well."

So the *faqîr* gave him his ragged coat from which he used to shake out the gold, and Bîkrû took it away to Râjâ Karan's house.

Later on Râjâ Karan came himself to the *faqîr* for his gold, and found that the frying pan had been thrown aside. So he asked him what had become of the oil and frying pan.

"Who are you," said the *faqîr*.

"I am Râjâ Karan," said he.

"Indeed," said the *faqîr*, "I have nothing to say to you, what had to be done has been done."†

Râjâ Karan returned home very thoughtful, and taking some gold from his palace, gave the charities as usual.

But in three days all his gold was gone, and then the Râjâ laid himself down to die as he had no gold left for his charities, and would not eat food until his charities had been given away.

For three days he remained without food, and Bîkrû came to him and said, "it is all nonsense dying like this—you should have something to eat." But the Râjâ would not eat, and at last became very bad indeed, and then Bîkrû said, "if you had your 125lbs. weight of gold would you eat?"

* The idea of such resurrections are common, and are ascribed to most saints in India. The *corpus vile* is, however, usually a horse; we must look, I think, to the *aswamedha* sacrifice for an origin of the notion.

† "*Jo karan thâ, so kar gayâ,*" being a play on the name Karan. However, in Sansk, *karna* would not mean "a doer," but "an ear." Etymology is not a strong point with the modern Indian story-teller.

And the Rājā said, "yes."

Then Bikrū shook his ragged coat and out came 125lbs. of gold, and the Rājā gave to the Brahmans and eat his dinner.

But he asked his servant Bikrū where he got the 125lbs. of gold from.

"I will explain," said Bikrū, "when you bring the swans to me that are shut up in the cage."

So the birds were brought and placed before him, and then Bikrū took off his ragged coat and laid it beside him and said, "I get the gold by shaking it from this ragged coat. If you will let these birds go, I will give it you. I am not Bikrū, but Rājā Bikramajīt."

Then Rājā Karan let the swans go, and Rājā Bikramajīt handed over the coat. And for this reason Rājā Bikramajīt's fame is noised over the whole world. (!)

Historical accuracy is never a quality to be found in the genuine folktale narrator, and I may say, inventor. Rājā Karan is the classical hero, Karna and Rājā Bikramajīt is the famous Rājā Vikramāditya of Ujjayini, and by no possibility could they have been contemporaries. Karna was the son of Prithā or Kuntī by Sūrya, the Sun, before she married Pāndū, and so was half-brother of the Pandavas, but he took the part of the Kauravas against them and was eventually slain after a terrific combat by Arjuna. He was king of Anga, or Bengal, and it is difficult to see how he came to be living in the North of the Panjab, but as the Pandavas and their race are common property all over India, I suppose one must not cavil at this. Vikramāditya lived many centuries later and is well-known as the founder of Sambat era B. C. 57.

One more point, Ujjayinī or Ujjain was the ancient and famous capital of Mālwa, and is now a large but decayed town in Mahārājā Sindhiā's (Gwālior) territory. It is a *very* long way from the Murree Hills with which this tale connects it.

To turn to another part of Murree. The Sadr Bazar was built under the English in 1850-3, that is, about 30 years ago. The following short story about it was told me by a very respectable old gentleman, one Sukhā Confectioner, now Chaudhri of the Corn Market, who evidently believed in it.

II.

A Story of the Murree Sadr Bazar.

"My name is Sukhā, and I am a confectioner by trade, and now I am Chaudhri of the Corn Market in the Murree Sadr Bazar. What I now relate I saw with my own eyes, and any number of people at Murree will bear out my story.

About 24 years ago, when Mr. (George) Battye was Magistrate, and the Sadr Bazar was only 6 years old, a wonderful thing happened. A dreadful supernatural Being began to haunt the bazar. Some people said it was a demon, some a jinn, some a dead shopkeeper, while others said it was a carpenter who had recently died. The Being always came in the winter, especially on snowy nights, and used to go into any shop he chose and take every thing out of it, and the curious part of it was that he used to arrange the goods on the road outside as if he were going to set up shop on his own account. He was never bothered by heavy weights, and constantly lifted out bags of grain weighing from $2\frac{1}{2}$ cwts. to 4 cwts.* and placed them in the road. He never did any harm to the goods nor did he even mix them, but placed them out exactly as they were arranged in the shop. The only things he stole were *ghî* and butter, and these he used to eat. He did this for 3 years whenever the snow fell, and, though the shopkeepers had had enough of it, they could never even see him.

But one year during the festival of *lorhî*, in the month of Poh, just before the month of Mâgh began, and after the midnight fires had been lighted and the people were going home, † Târâ Singh, a shopkeeper and I sat talking together in front of my shop till about 2 in the morning. The fires had been lighted just in front of my shop, so we could see pretty well. Târâ Singh is still alive, but has left this place and keeps a shop in Rawal Pindî.

While we were smoking and talking we saw the Being go into my shop and put his head right into a vessel of *ghî*, where it got stuck. So he began struggling and making a noise. I thought at first it was a thief, and called to the neighbours for help, and several of them came running up with torches. And then we saw that in the *ghî*-pot was stuck the Being and that, it had four legs. So we got three tent ropes and tied it up to a wooden post in the shop, and I broke open the *ghî*-pot with a big stick and then let loose the Being's head. We did not see the face, but it had long ears like a donkey. As soon as it was free of the pot, it jerked itself loose from the post and went off,

* 3 to 5 maunds.

† This would be about the 15th January. The *lorhî* is the Pânjabî ceremony of burning fuel during the last few hours of the month, just before the sun enters into a new sign of the zodiac (*shankrânt*). The *lorhî* has no reference to any

god or deity, and seems to be little more than a superstitious custom. Wood is collected at the town or village *chaunks* and burnt; the people worship these fires and eat *reorî*, a small kind of sweetmeat. The expense is defrayed by general subscription.

ropes and all. When it got outside it began looking about at the people collected round it, as if dazed.

We sent a man at once to call Mardân 'Ali, the Kotwâl, who had a fancy for keeping leopards and bears and other wild animals, but before he came up, the Being gave a jump and went off. When Mardân 'Ali arrived and heard all about it: he was much astonished.

But from that day to this the Being never come again into the bazar or to the Murree Hills. It had marks on its body like a leopard, and was about the size of one.

The chances are that it really was a leopard. They are still to be found in the neighbourhood in cold weather, and were doubtless plentiful in the early days of the station.

The word used by the narrator for "Being" is very interesting and noteworthy. It was *shae*. Now *shae* or *sae* (شے or شی or سی)

in the hill districts of the Panjab, means a supernatural being, a demon or ghost. In tracing it the dictionaries give no help, nor do they even quote it. The *Lodiânâ Panjabi Dictionary* has "*شے, se*, a contribution levied by bards, faqîrs and Brahmans."

And also "*sêwadâr*, a bard, faqîr or Brahman, who levies contributions on individuals, and ceases not to worry them till payment is made." These words I am told have their origin from the idea that the faqîr or Brahman can call up the *shae* at will to annoy those who will not give, and on the other hand, can remove the *shae* which afflicts those who are charitable. The only derivation I can suggest for the word is the Sanskrit *sava*, a corpse, dead body, from the root *sav*, *sî* or *svi*.

The next legend takes us away from Murree itself to the neighbourhood, or rather *environs* of Rawal Pindî town. About 10 miles to the North of Rawal Pindî is a place of great local celebrity, called by the Hindus Râmkund or Râma's Pool, and by the Muhammadans Saidpur.* The spot is green and pleasant and well shaded by banian, *jâmun* and *tân* trees, and there is plenty of water; "enough to work a water-mill," an expression which in a Panjabi's mouth means plenty and abundance. A temple to Râm Chandar makes it sacred in Hindu's eyes, but it is moreover a great *tîrth*, or place of pilgrimage. Those who have the time and inclination go there on every holiday (*parb*), and annually on the 1st of Baisakh † at the *shankrânt*, or

* The *Târîkh-i-Makhzan-i-Panjab*, p. 320, calls it Nûrpur Sayyid, perhaps to distinguish it from Nûrpur

Shâhân, for which see next tale.

† About 15th April.

entrance of the sun into the new sign of the zodiac, there is a great fair. All the meetings are attended alike by Hindus and Musalmans, as is so usual in these parts. The Hindus go to bathe, and the Musalmans apparently because there is amusement and an outing to be got. The bathing places consist of five tanks or pools, *viz.*, Râm Kund, Sîtâ Kund, Hanumân Kund, Lachhman Kund and Sûrij Kund, but for some occult reason the Hindus will not bathe in the Sîtâ Kund.

About 2 miles to the East of this is another *tirth* or place of pilgrimage where the people go on holidays to bathe and give charities to the officiating Brahmans. This place is a Gupt-gangâ. Now a *gupt-gangâ*, which appears to be a modern word, is, as its name implies, a pool or silent reach in a mountain river, in which, though the water is running, it looks still and motionless. All such places are looked on in the Himâlayan districts as sacred to the penance of some Rishi or saint.

The peculiar sanctity of Râmkund is due to the penance said to have been performed there by Vis'vâmitra. The native tale is that "during the penance of Vis'vâmitra at Râmkund, Râm Chandar and Sîtâ appeared to him, *as is related in the Bhrigu-Sanhita*." This looks very circumstantial and we are given, as it were, chapter and verse for the legend. However, I regret to say, that on investigation the penance of Vis'vâmitra at this place, together with the very book which relates it, vanishes into thin air! I could not hear of any such book as the *Bhrigu-Sanhita*, and through the kindness of Dr. Hoernle, I ascertained from Pandit Jogindra Nâth Tarkachuramoney, the Asiatic Society's Pandit, that no such book as the *Bhrigu-Sanhita* existed, and that the *Bhrigu-Smrita*,* number 1613 of the Society's Library, which is in existence, says nothing about Râmkund and Vis'vâmitra. So much for the book, and as regards the fact or fable of Vis'vâmitra having performed penance at any such place as Râmkund, it seems that no old book makes any mention of it. Of course, for modern purposes, anything can be twisted out of old Sanskrit texts, as they are so confusing, conflicting and delightfully vague. For instance, Valmîki, *Râmâyana*, chapters 57 to 65, *Adi* gives a complete account of Vis'vâmitra's penances, and says he performed them North, South, East and West, or as we should say in English "all round the compass," but the natives will not allow this and consider that, given α as a meridian, the intermediate points of the compass are not intended, and that as the Panjab is not North but North-West, he did not perform in the Panjab. Let us be content to let the matter rest there.

* See Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, Trübner's Ed., pp. 17-20.

Owing, however, to the habitual uncertainty of the Sanskrit scriptures, Vis'vâmitra may, in this connection, stand for three other persons, viz., Bhrigu, Jamadagni and Parasu-Râma, and the question arises, did any of the above perform penance at Râmkund? The Pandit before mentioned answers no, not as far as he knows. So we may fairly assume that the present sanctity of the place is due to a reading of an old text, and this, after all, is all that can be said of most such places.

A further dive into the matter brings us into one of these 'messes and mixing up of stories' one is pretty sure to find one's self in the further one goes into Hindu mythology. Vis'vâmitra was one of the mythological representatives of the Kshatriyas in their great struggle with the Brahmaus, represented in this case by Vasishtha. He was probably really a Kshatriya of the Lunar race and a descendant of Puru, but as the books represent him after his defeat by Vasishtha as becoming a Brahman himself through the austerities he practised, a left-hand Brahman descent has been found for him thus: Gâdhi,* king of Kanyakubja (Kananj), had a daughter Satyavati, who was married to Richika, an old Brahman of the race of Bhrigu.† Richika prepared two dishes, one for Satyavati and one for *her* mother. These were to make the former to bear a son with the qualities of a Brahman, and the latter, a son with those of a warrior. The dishes were changed and the *mother* bore Vis'vâmitra, a Kshatriya, with the qualities of a Brahman, and the daughter bore Jamadagni, a Brahman, with the qualities of a Kshatriya. Jamadagni was the father of Parasu-Râma, the Brahman destroyer of the Kshatriyas. It should be remarked here that both Jamadagni and Parasu-Râma are sometimes named Bhrigu as well as the Muni, who founded the whole Bhargava race.‡

Vis'vâmitra became connected with the Lunar race from whence the Kauravas and Pandavas sprang in the following manner. During one of his penances he was seduced by the nymph (*apsaras*) Menakâ, and by her became the father of the far-famed Sakuntalâ, mother of Bharata, from whom were descended the Kauravas and Pandavas, who fought out the great war of the Mahâbhârata. Thus they were his descendants.

The local legend records his connection with the Solar race by saying that Râma and Sîtâ appeared to him during his penance.

* Gâdhi was the son of Kusauava, son of Kusa, son of Brahma, Valmiki, *Ramayana*, ch. 51, Adi. 18, 19.

† But see story in the *Kalkipurana*, where Bhrigu himself, in place of his descendant Richika, is made out to

be the hero of the tale.

‡ Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, Trübner's Ed., pp. 148, 240, 241, speaks of the Bhrigus in the plural as a family.

From this, one would infer that he lived *after* them. However, mythology does not support this. He seems to have lived a long while, for we find him living in the reigns of the following Solar kings of the Ayodhyâ (Oudh) dynasty, viz., Trisanku, Harish-Chandra, Sudâsa, Saudâsa and Dasaratha, who were respectively 28th, 29th, 49th, 50th and 60th in the line, the great Râma Chandra himself being the 61st. From 28th to 61st of a line means, by ordinary computation, 31 generations or 1000 years! Vis'vâmitra, moreover, does not seem to have been under any necessity to invoke Râma and Sîtâ, for according to the *Râmâyana* he was Râma's *guru* when he went to marry Sîtâ, and it was at his instigation that Râma was sent by his father Dasaratha to fight Râvana.

The legend told about Râmkund is as follows:—

III.

A Legend of Râmkund.

Râmkund became famous in the time of Râjâ Mân of Amer in Jaipûr, who lived in the days of Akbar the Emperor. It was here that he lived with his troops in a cantonment he had made for them and instituted the great Râmkund fair. All the while that he was at Râmkund, his wife lived in the palace at Amer with his mother, and in order to visit her, Râjâ Mân used to go every night on a demon's* back to Amer, and so secret was he, that even his mother knew nothing about it. Every evening he used to start, and every morning he was back again in Râmkund. After a time it began to be clear that his wife was pregnant, and that made his mother very frightened. So she asked her daughter-in-law how it was, and then Râjâ Mân's wife explained how he used to visit her every night, and how the child was his.

Meanwhile Râjâ Mân was ordered by the Emperor Akbar to march to Peshâwar and punish the place for something the people had done. When he got to Atak he saw that the river was very swift and impossible to cross. So he wrote a letter to his mother at Amer that he had intended to cross the Atak (Indus) and conquer Peshâwar, but that the river was so difficult, that he would have to give up the attempt. But his mother answered him, "If you could go from Amer to Râmkund and back in one night, why cannot you cross the Atak?" And she sent him a verse—

*Sabhi bhâm Gopâl kî,
Dikh Atak nahin koe :
Jin Atak kar mûnio,
Atak rahegâ soe.*

The word used was "*shae*," as explained in the previous tale.

The whole world is God's,
 No one is stayed within it :
 But who wishes to be stayed,
 He alone will be stayed.*

As soon as he got his mother's letter, Rājā Mân felt very much ashamed, and crossed the Atak that very night and conquered Peshâwar, Kâbul and Kandahâr so completely, that his laws are obeyed by the Musalmans there to this very day.

And the laws he made were these :—First, that men should sleep face downwards† ; second, that all swords should have wooden handles only ; third, that men should wear caps (*topis*) on their heads. And so it is to the present day.

Now it happened that somewhere to the west of Kâbul, where the frost is very severe, that Rājā Mân lost his nose from frost-bite. This misfortune made him so ashamed, that he never returned home and the end of the great warrior was that he died alone in the western deserts.

The laws made by Rājā Mân are so charming and his end so pathetic, that one feels sorry to demolish the whole story by enquiring into it. But unfortunately, although Rājā Mân Singh and Akbar lived barely 300 years ago, the Panjâbi tale is opposed to all history. The Kachhwâhâ Râjpût prince Rājā Mân Singh was the adopted son or nephew of Rājā Bhagwân Dâs of Jaipûr, who again was one of the three sons of Rājā Bihârî Mall that entered Akbar's service. Akbar married Raja Bihârî Mall's daughter, so that Rājā Mân Singh was his relative. He was one of the most conspicuous of Akbar's generals, and fought for him in Orissa, Bengal, Assam and Kâbul. He was also, at various times, Governor in the Panjab, Kabul, Bengal, Behar and the Deccan. The capital of his native State of Jaipûr was the then splendid Amber or Amer, the present grand old palace of which was begun by him about 1600 A. D. and finished by the celebrated astronomer Rājā Sawât Jai Singh, who however transferred the capital to the present Jaipûr in 1728 A. D. In 1579 A. D. Mân Singh, as Governor of the Panjab, was defeated by Akbar's brother, Muhammad Hakîm Mîrzâ, then ruler of Kabul, and Akbar himself had to come up to drive his brother from the country again. After this Mân Singh's father Bhagwân Dâs was appointed Governor of Kabul and the Atak Fort was rebuilt. In 1586 A. D. Mân Singh was deputed to fetch away from Kabul the children of Muhammad Hakîm Mîrzâ then deceased. About this time his sister married Akbar's eldest son, afterwards the Emperor Jahângîr, and thus his connection with the

* Atak in Hindi means a stoppage, † Ondhe mûnh souâ.
 hence the play on the word.

Royal Family became closer than ever. In the same year 1586 Akbar's favorite, the celebrated Rājā Birbal Singh, was killed in an expedition against the Afghans, but in another direction Mān Singh was completely successful in the Khaibar Pass near Peshāwar. Meanwhile, Bhagwān Dās was sent to Kashmir, but met with only partial success. However, in 1589 Kashmir and Kabul were finally annexed by Akbar, and it was while he was still at Kabul, that he heard from Lahore of the death of his great financier Rājā Todar Mall, and five days afterwards of that of Bhagwān Dās. In 1593 we find Rājā Mān Singh, as Governor, overthrowing Kutlagh Khān in Bengal and Orissa, and in 1600 commencing his palace at Amber. He died at last in 1614, while Governor, at some place in the Deccan. Beale in his *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, s. v., says that Mān Singh had 1500 concubines and that all of them bore him children. I leave this extraordinary statement and apparent physical impossibility for those who care to investigate it. Sixty of Rājā Mān Singh's concubines are said to have committed *sati* at his funeral. If this is true, it is probably the largest *sati* on record.

The verse about the Atak is a well known one, and as *atak* means a stoppage, or barrier, the play on the word is natural. It is also probably the origin of the name of the river itself, which has been a barrier to the Hindus from all time in more senses than one, for not only is the river wide, swift and dangerous, but crossing it meant loss of caste to the orthodox. Witness our own experiences in the Afghan war of 1839. It is said, that the verse quoted in the tale was invented by Rājā Mān Singh in order to overcome the prejudices of his soldiers about crossing the Atak. It usually runs thus:—

*Sabhi bhām Gopāl kī,
Tā men atak kahā
Jā ke man men atak hai,
Soī atak rahā.*

The next legend takes us about two miles to the south of Rām kund, while keeping us still at the foot of the Hazārā Mountains, to a place known as Nūrpur Shābān. As at Rām kund, water is here abundant and sufficient to drive a mill, and the place is well surrounded with date trees and cypresses. During the last 60 years a large fair has been held annually here, lasting for three weeks from the first Thursday after the 15th Baisakh * or *Baisakh badī dūsmī*, or according to the Musalman calculation the 8th Jamād-us-sāni for the current year. It is principally a Musalman fair and consequently great

* About the 1st May.

numbers of sheep and goats are slaughtered at it. Ecstasies and frenzy (*hāl*) are not unknown, though I do not know what should bring them about. Hindûs, too, attend the fair and bring sweetmeats

The Nûrpur horse fair at Rawal Pindî takes its name from this one, and attempts have been made to make the horse-fair coincide with the regular Nûrpur fair, but they have been unsuccessful.*

The fair commences on the arrival of a *dālî* or offering of every kind of fruit in season from Peshâwar, and until this arrives the fair cannot begin. It is held in honour of the tomb of Shâh-i-Latîf Barî†, which saint is said to have been "a pupil of Sayyid Hayât-un-Nûr, grandson of Ghauns-ul-Azim, of the great Shekh family of Qâdiriâ saints."

Ghauns-ul-Azim was Shekh Abd-ul-Qâdir Gîlânî, founder of the Qâdiriâ saints. He died in 1166 A. D. at Baghdâd. I am unable to find any trace of a grandson of his called Hayât-un-Nûr, and this name is probably fabulous. The chances are that Shâh-i-Latîf Barî is strictly a local celebrity.

IV.

Legend of Nûrpur Shâhân.

There used to live at Nûrpur Shâhân a faqîr called Barî Sultân, who was daily supplied with milk by a Gujjar. But the buffalo from which the milk came always used to die on the day it was milked for the saint. At last all the milch buffaloes belonging to the Gujjar died and he had only one bull left alive. So he went to the saint and asked him what he was to do.

"Milk the bull," said the Saint.

So the Gujjar milked the bull, and he too died. Then he went to the saint and said "What shall we do now?" "Go to the nearest spring," said the Faqîr, "and call out the names of your cattle one by one and come back without looking once behind you."

The Gujjar did as he was told and called out the names, not only of all the cattle he had lost, but of those of a good many others as well. As he called out the names of his own buffaloes, they all sprang up from the spring and followed him, and as he took them away with him, he looked round to see if the others were following him as well, and lo! all the strange buffaloes were turned into stone, and there they are to the present day.

* Cracroft's *Settlement Report*, p. 320. Barî in Arabic means holy, sec. 98.

† *Ibid.* *Târîkh-i-Makhzan-i-Panjâb*,

sinless, stainless.

The story of milking a bull when a saint happened to want milk and could not get it is not uncommon, and I have heard it told also of the great saint Sakhi Sarwar Sultan. It was one of the miracles he performed at Saudhara in the Gujranwala district. It is most probably a Hindu notion.

We are now taken Northwards to a mountain, about 13 miles south east of Abbotabad and 23 miles from Murree, called at Murree Mahoshpuri or Salvation Hill.* It is just above the Sanitarium of Kālābāgh. It is well wooded with *deodar* and is lofty enough for the snow to lie permanently in its hollows. This, the people say, is taken thence in to Murree and on to Rawal Pindī. But as the distance to the latter place is 62 miles, this sounds like a fable. They also say that Lahore can be seen from the summit, but as the height of the hill is only 9,232 feet,† the statement must be sheer nonsense.

On the summit of the hill is a Pānduān dā Sthan, or place sacred to the penance of the Pāndavas. Here it is said they were visited and tempted by the celestial nymphs or *apsarases*, who still visit the place according to the old Brahman in charge, for he says he has seen them. The English have made a foot-path up the hill for the benefit of the many devotees who go up it, as they pass the place *en route* to Abbotabad and elsewhere. On this hill, too, are said to be many medicinal herbs (būṛī) and shrubs, for which people came from all parts of the Panjab and, regarding one of these, the following extraordinary tale is told—

V.

A Story of Mahoshpuri.

I, Gangā Rām Munshi, used to be in the service of Sardār Ganesha Singh, who had a large contract for the supply of firewood and timber. I had always heard that there was plenty of wood to be got on Mahoshpuri for the mere cutting, and I had also heard that if any one were to cut down or tamper with a tree called Barkhar, he would lose all the hair on his body, and moreover get very ill. The people said that when cut, it yielded milk, which blistered the body where it touched; and not only that, even if any body sat in the shade of it while the milk was exuding, he would become covered with blisters. In fact they said it was unwise and dangerous to sit in its shade at any time. The common people are very fond of telling these stories, and there is very often only imagination to be found in them, so I laughed at it as an

* Mokshpuri. Major Wace, *Hazara Settlement Report*, p. 5, sec. 10, calls it Mochpuri.

† Wace, *Hazara Settlement Report*, p. 5, sec. 10.

old wife's tale and went off to Mahoshpurî to get my wood, thinking to make a grand bargain for my master.

Well, it was about two years ago that I started on the expedition to Mahoshpurî to cut wood, and when I got there the coolies refused to cut the Barkhar, so I went up to the first Barkhar tree and gashed it myself. And then I learnt a lesson, for what the people had said was only too true. I was very ill for six months and lost all my hair, and it was only when I got well again that it gradually came back to me. If you doubt my story, you have merely to go to Abbotabad Hospital and enquire, for it was there that I lay so long.

I have not been to Abbotabad Hospital to enquire, but I still have my doubts as to the accuracy of the Munshi's statements, although the events related are so recent. In the first place, his hair, when I saw him, was as plentiful as that of other people. This could hardly be the case if 18 months previously he had lost it all by illness. Next the Barkhar tree is not peculiar to Mahoshpurî or even to India, being the *Celtis Caucasica* of the botanists. Its usual Indian name is the Barkar,* and it is to be noted that bat=bar=Sanskrit vata, the banyan tree. Now, the tree called the *Celtis* in Latin was the African *Lotos* tree, known also in Italy as the nettle tree. It is a low thorny shrub of the *zyziphus*, or jujube-family, and as a contrast to the notion regarding it at Murree, I would remark that its fruit is the Fruit of Paradise in Arabic poetry, and that the tree is accordingly much prized in Tunis and Tripoli to the present day! † Superstitions, exactly the reverse of each other regarding the same object, are not uncommon in the world. For instance, in Northern England the village bride must not have a single pin in her dress as she goes to church to be married, while in Southern England the more she has the better: indeed, her dress is there more pinned up than sewn. Thus, in the one part the pin is lucky, and the other it is unlucky.

Pândûân dâ sthâns, or places when the Pândavas performed penance are not uncommon in the Himâlayas, and there is one on the summit of the Terrace Hill, 7,400 feet, in Murree itself, close to the Badminton and Lawn Tennis Courts. It consists of a small square place, 22 yards north to south and 20 yards east to west, situated on the magnificently wooded summit of the hill. In this space is built up a small square, of rough walls, made of loose rock chippings, 20 feet by 22 feet on the outside. These walls are 3 to 5 feet high on the outside, and from a foot to

* Wace, *Settlement Report*, p 12, celtis and lotus; Liddell and Scott's *Greek Lex.* s. v. λώτος and the

† See Smith, *Lat. Dict.* s.v. authorities quoted by them.

18 inches high on the inside. Within the raised space thus enclosed are some loose stones, stumps of old trees, and some offerings of flowers and leaves lying about. Within it also grows a young *chûr* tree on which are hung a quantity of those votive rags (*tûl*) so common in India.* This is all that the shrine consists of.

I happened to see the worship at the place which is typical and simple to a degree. It consists merely of bringing an offering of flowers and leaves, walking round the place once, and distributing some *halwa* and sweets to any people who happen to be present. The little urchins of the neighbourhood frequent the place of a morning for the sake of the distribution of sweets, which is pretty sure to take place.

At every *Shankrânt* there is a sort of fair for the benefit of the persons in charge of the *Sthân*.

No particular story is attached to this place, called by the natives Pâñch Pândû, except the inevitable one, that the attempts of Europeans to build bungalows there have failed. But a tale I heard regarding it is worth recording. The first Commissioner at Murree and the person who laid out the place in 1850, was Mr. Edward Thornton. The site he selected was that on which the house called The Terrace now stands, but it happened that this was occupied by the Pândûân dâ Sthân known as the Pâñch Pândû, so he hit upon the device of calling all the people together and explaining to them and persuading them, that the real spot where the penance had been performed was more to the north about 200 yards. The Sthân was accordingly removed to where it now is, and Mr. Thornton built his house. Another version is, that he tried to build his house on the site of the Sthân where it now is, but was prevented by the *Pir* in charge. However, there is no room at the present Pâñch Pândû for such a house as The Terrace, whereas its present site and grounds are ample.

It seems nevertheless that the whole tale is a fabrication, and is based on the fact that just behind The Terrace is an old Musalmân tomb to some faqîr to which pilgrimages used to be made, but which have practically ceased since the occupation of the site by the English.

The presence of these Pândûân dâ Sthâns in the Himâlayan districts is not difficult to account for, and is due directly to the story of the *Mahâbhârata*. In the first place Pândû, the Pale, died in the Himâlayas in solitude, accompanied only by his wives, Kuntî or Prithâ and Mâdrî, who there bore the five celebrated

* See Walhouse, *Indian Antiquary*, on this point.
IX, pp. 105-3, for the authorities

sons, known as the Pândavas, to various gods. The Pândavas were, however, recognised by Pândû as his own children. In the next place, long afterwards, when the Pândavas succeeded in the great struggle for the possession of Hastinâpura (Delhi) with their cousins, the Kauravas, and the eldest of them Yudishthira was placed on the throne of his fathers, the old blind king Dhritarashtra, elder brother of Pândû, and therefore uncle of the Pândavas and father of the Kauravas, retired into the jungles from sorrow and shame. There he died with Gândhârî and Kuntî, the mothers respectively of the Kauravas and Pândavas, in a forest fire. After this Yudishthira abdicated his throne out of remorse and departed with the Pândavas to the Himâlayas for Mt. Merû, as is so grandly related in the *Mahâ-prâsthânika-Parva*, the 18th book of the *Mahâbhârata*. The numerous Pândûân dâ Sthâns in the Himâlayas probably, therefore, represent either the places where Pândû himself is supposed to have performed penance, or the place where the Pândavas are supposed to have halted during the "great journey."

The presence of Apsarases, or celestial nymphs, at these Pândûân dâ Sthâns is equally easy to account for. They were nymphs of Indra's heaven, produced at the churning of the ocean, and are represented as being of easy virtue. They were occasionally sent by the gods to seduce heroes, as in the case of Urvasî and Purûravas, or sages from their penance, as in the cases of Menakâ, who seduced Vis'vâmitra and of Rambhâ, who attempted it, and who was eventually ravished by Râvana. In modern times the Apsarases are said to visit any place, where a sage or hero has done penance (*tap*).

R. C. TEMPLE.

**ART. IX.—INDIGENOUS SCHOOLS IN OUDH AND
NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.**

AMONG the questions suggested for the examination of witnesses before the Educational Commission, which commenced its sittings in Calcutta at the beginning of the present year, the following question on the subject of Indigenous schools holds the fourth place:—

“To what extent do Indigenous schools exist in your province?
“How far are they a relic of an ancient village system? Can you
“describe the subjects and character of the instruction given in
“them, and the system of discipline in vogue? What fees are
“taken from the scholars? From what classes are the masters of
“such schools generally selected, and what are their qualifications?
“Have any arrangements been made for training or providing
“masters in such schools? Under what circumstances do you con-
“sider that Indigenous schools can be turned to good account as
“part of a system of national education, and what is the best me-
“thod to adopt for this purpose? Are the masters willing to ac-
“cept State aid and to conform to the rules under which such aid
“is given? How far has the grant-in-aid system been extended
“to Indigenous schools, and can it be further extended?”

It happens that an enquiry upon all of the above points was made in the province of Oudh about nine years ago. Mr. Browning, the late Director of Public Instruction, was called upon to prepare a scheme for aiding and improving the Indigenous schools. But before he had had time to mature his plans, he was transferred to the Central Provinces, and the matter was then handed over to myself. As I was at that time quite new to this part of India, it was thought advisable, before preparing any scheme of my own, to have a searching enquiry made as to the extent and character of the Indigenous schools then existing in Oudh, and from the facts thus elicited to determine whether or not anything could be made of them for the purpose desired by Government—the extension of Primary education among the masses. The Deputy Inspector of schools in each of the 12 districts of Oudh was therefore directed to visit every Indigenous school within the area of his own district, and respecting each school so visited to obtain an answer to each of the following questions:—

- (1.) How long has the school been in existence?
- (2.) Of what caste, age, profession and religion is the teacher or teachers?
- (3.) Is the school of a permanent or a temporary character?

(4.) How many pupils were in the school at the time of the visit ?

(5.) What is the average attendance ?

(6.) Are any registers kept? If not, how was the information as to average attendance obtained ?

(7.) To what classes of the community do the pupils belong ?

(8.) What is the average age of the pupils attending ?

(9.) Is the school open to outsiders generally ? If not, with whom does the admission of pupils rest ?

(10.) What is the object for which the school is maintained ?

(11.) What fees are paid, if any ?

(12.) Are any pupils paid to attend ?

(13.) What is the teacher's income, and from what source (such as fees, endowments, gifts, private patronage, &c.,) is the income derived ?

(14.) Has the number of pupils, so far as can be ascertained, increased or diminished during the last ten years ? State all the causes of increase and diminution as the case may be ?

(15.) By whom was the teacher appointed, or did he set up the school on his own account ?

(16.) What are the books, languages, and subjects taught ?

(17.) What degree of proficiency have the pupils attained in reading the Arabic, Persian, or Sanskrit books used in the school (if any such are used), and in explaining the sense ?

(18.) What degree of proficiency has been attained in reading other books of the same language or languages as the above, but not used in the school ?

(19.) What amount of proficiency has been attained in reading Urdu or Nagri from books not seen before, and in explaining the sense ?

(20.) What progress has been made in penmanship, and what kind of character is used by the pupils in writing ?

(21.) What progress has been made in writing from dictation ?

(22.) What kind of Arithmetic is taught, if any, and what degree of proficiency has been attained ?

(23.) Does the teacher appear to be anxious to accept Government aid, and if so, on what conditions ?

(24.) What kind of building is the school kept in, and who is owner of the building ?

Every Indigenous school that could be found in Oudh, in the year 1874, was examined with reference to the foregoing questions, and the answers obtained were in most cases clear and decisive. There is, however, one kind of Indigenous school, about which no statistics were collected. I refer to the schools of the higher Mahomedan learning, which is pursued only by adults, and which

affects only a very small section of the Mahomedan community. This kind of institution bears the same relation to the other Indigenous Mahomedan schools, that Colleges do to Primary and Secondary schools in our own system. These higher studies are seldom pursued in any other city of Oudh except its capital, Lucknow, and there, so far as I have heard, chiefly in the quarter called Farangī Mahal, where the most learned class of Maulvís resides. They consist of Arabic language and literature, Logic (Mantiq), Human Physiology (Tib), Mahomedan Law (Fiqua), Religious Tradition (Hadís), Philosophy (Hikmat), &c. Lucknow ranks with Delhi as one of the great centres of Mahomedan learning in Upper India; and young men from all parts of Hindustan flock into this city for the purpose of acquiring as much knowledge as the learned Maulvís are able to impart to them. The whole course is seldom completed in less than 14 years, and few have the means, even if they had the patience, for remaining for so long a period in the state of pupilage away from their own homes and pursuits. No attempt was made to collect statistics as to the number of teachers or of pupils engaged in such studies, as the object of the enquiry then being made was to discover whether Primary education could or could not be extended through the medium of these Indigenous schools, which were attended by boys, and which professed to teach a less ambitious course. The following remarks contain the substance of the report based on the replies to the 24 questions quoted above, and submitted to the Oudh Government in February 1875.

The Indigenous schools of Oudh and of Upper India generally consist of two main classes :—

I.—Mahomedan schools or maktabas.

II.—Hindu schools or patshalas.

The distinction does not hold good in all respects. At least one half of the Mahomedan schools are both maintained and attended by Hindus of the Kayth caste; (Hindus of other castes have very rarely any connection with them): but even in these, the teacher employed is a Mahomedan and the language taught is Persian, the favourite language of Mahomedans and Kayths. Again, there is a kind of Hindu school, which is attended by Mahomedans of the trading class; but natives of the trading class are chiefly Hindus, and the kind of instruction is the same for both.

The teachers at Mahomedan schools or maktabas may be distinguished into three classes. *Firstly*, professional Maulvís, Miyán-jís, Hakíms or Mullás, who teach secular books with or without the addition of the Qurán. Of these some maintain schools of their own as a means of livelihood, others take employment as tutors in private families. *Secondly*, Tálib-ul-ilm Maulvís,—young

men, who resort to the Farangī Mahal, Lucknow, from different parts of Hindústán, in order to pursue the higher learning described above, and who set up temporary day-schools as a means of subsistence during their sojourn. *Thirdly*, Hafizjís,—men, who as the name implies, know, or have the reputation of knowing, the whole of the Qurán by heart, and whose educational aims are purely religious. Many men of this class are blind : (hence Hafizjís has become a synonym for a blind man) ; others are weavers, who are sometimes seen reciting the Qurán to the pupils standing by, while they themselves continue working ; others are professional Maulvis, who have abandoned the teaching of secular literature.

Teachers at Hindu schools or patshalas, are of two different kinds, each widely different from the other ; *firstly*, Brahmins, who teach only Sanscrit, and this only to men or boys of their own caste ; *secondly*, Hindus of the Kayth and other castes, and occasionally Mahomedan traders, who teach Bazár Arithmetic, and the corrupt form of Nagri writing, which is called Kaithí. The Kaithi teachers, like the Maulvis described in the preceding paragraph, sometimes take employment as family tutors, and sometimes set up schools on their own account. They are known by various different names ; Gurují, when they are Brahmins by caste ; Bhaiyají or Lalají, when they are Kayths or Banyas.

The two main classes of Indigenous schools noted above may now be sub-divided each into 3 sub-classes, answering to the different kinds of teachers just described :—

		Schools. Scholars.	
Mahomedan	{ Persian	{ Private	... 503 2,251
		{ Independent	... 60 497
	{ Arabic	... .	... 39 225
Hindu	{ Kaithi	{ Private	... 41 232
		{ Independent	... 50 627
	{ Sanskrit	..	... 63 506

The first class of Mahomedan schools, then, are private mak-tabs or family schools, in which the male children or relatives of the head of the family are taught by a private tutor engaged for that purpose. The children of outsiders are, however, occasionally admitted : but this depends upon the will of the employer. The tutor receives a fixed monthly salary, with board and lodging ; the salary ranges from Re. 1 to Rs. 8 or 10, and varies according to the means of the employer or the reputation of the teacher. In addition to this, if any outsiders are permitted to attend, he is allowed to receive as a perquisite any such remuneration in fees or gifts as they may be able to give. In most cases the tutor's income from all sources combined is very small, seldom more than

enough to keep him from actual want ; but for the smallness of his emoluments he is to some extent compensated by being treated at all times with great deference and addressed by the flattering title of *Maulvī Sahib*. *Maulvīs* are entertained in this way for more purposes than teaching. It is considered by Mahomedans and Hindu Kayths a mark of respectability to keep such a person in the establishment, and his assistance is needed by the head of the family to help him in the management of the estate. When the male children of the family have ceased to be of an age fit for pupilage, the services of the *Maulvī* are often retained for these collateral purposes. His position in the establishment is not unlike that held in England in the 17th century by the domestic chaplains entertained by country squires, a class of men of whom Parson Supple kept by Squire Western in *Tom Jones* may be taken as an example. In Mahomedan families the child is introduced to his tutor at the age of 5 or 6 by a ceremony termed *Bismilla* ; but actual instruction is seldom commenced till two years or so later.

The system of secular instruction is the same in Private as in Independent maktab. The aim of both is to teach the art of reading and writing Persian. A lad's education is considered complete, when he is able to write a Persian letter, to read the Persian classical poets, and to make out a letter written in *shikast*, the broken running hand. This standard covers about the same ground in native Mahomedan education as that covered by Middle schools in the Government system. This course is seldom completed in less than 10 years, and in many cases is never completed at all. "I have seen many boys," as the Deputy Inspector of Partabgarh reports, "who have been learning for some 10 or 12 years, and who are yet quite unable to write two lines correctly." This is due to several causes. Some fathers are indifferent whether their sons learn well or not ; others are unable to know a good teacher from a bad one, when they engage a tutor ; and when a bad teacher happens to be selected, he takes good care that his pupils shall not learn too fast and exhaust his stock of knowledge at an inconveniently early date.

As soon as a child has mastered the alphabet, he is at once set to read either the *Qurán* or Persian, the former in Mahomedan families only. The Persian course is the same in Mahomedan and Hindú families alike, and may be divided into 4 stages. In the *first* stage the books studied are *Kháliq Bári*, *Karima*, *Mamuqiman*, and *Mahmúd Náma*. These books are more difficult than those read in the later stages. The pupil simply reads the text again and again, till he can repeat it fluently with the book before him. Of the sense he knows nothing ; for the teaching of meanings is

systematically neglected in this stage. In the *second* stage the books read are *Amad Náma* (a manual on the conjugations and inflections of Persian verbs), *Dastur-us-Silyan*, or some other standard Persian letter-writer of equal difficulty, *Bostan* and *Gulistan*, both by *Sâdi*, the former a poem, and the latter a prose work intermingled with poetry. In this stage it will be observed that Grammar and explanation are to some extent taught, and the teaching begins to be rational ; the mode of teaching, however, is very mechanical, and the pupils seldom do anything but learn by rote. In the *third* stage the pupil studies the more difficult letter-writers, such as *Insha-i-Madho Râm*, *Insha Khalifâ*, and others. Simultaneously with these he studies *Masuaní Ganimat* or *Zulikhâ*. In the *fourth* stage the pupil reads *Bahâr-i-Danish*, *Sikandar Náma* and other standard works, such as *Abul Fazl*, *Qasaid Urî*, &c. This is all that is done in the way of reading. The Vernacular, it will be seen, is not taught at all, except indirectly through the Persian. Even that little is done badly ; for the only mode of translating from Persian to Urdu practised in *maktabs* is bald and literal, and no such thing as idiomatic Urdu composition is attempted. The neglect of the Vernacular is due to several causes. Vernacular scholarship is not considered a literary accomplishment, as Persian is by the natives of Upper India. The character of Urdu and Persian being the same, it is considered a waste of time to teach a child the Vernacular, which he will learn in any case, with or without the help of a teacher. It is believed, too (not without reason), that a knowledge of Persian is indispensable to any one who wishes to understand the language used in the courts, or to take up any kind of literary employment, of which Urdu forms the basis. However circuitous, slow, and indirect the process may be, it is invariably found that a student, who has completed the Persian course and has been under an energetic teacher can read and understand at sight any ordinary Urdu book, and write an Urdu letter with a fair degree of facility, correctness, and perspicuity, just as in England in classical schools, in which English is never taught, a boy acquires a ready mastery of English through the study of Latin.

The other subject taught in *maktabs*, besides the reading of Persian, is the art of writing letters of business in the same language. Penmanship, however, receives less attention on the whole than reading does. The day is divided into 3 sessions. A prose author is studied in the morning for 3 hours. Writing is practised from about 12-30 to 3 P. M. Poetry is studied from 3 to 5-30 or 6. The various stages by which the art of writing is acquired, are like those of reading, 4 in number : (1) The student learns to shape the letters of the alphabet and the various combinations of them

during the first stage. (2) As soon as he commences to read *Amad Nāma* and *Dastur-us-Sibyan*, he begins to practise what is called *imla*-writing, that is, copying words and sentences taken from his reading book. This practice is continued, till the pupil can copy out, in a neat hand, whole lessons from *Dastur-us-Sibyan*. (3) As soon as a pupil enters the third course of Persian reading, he learns by degrees what is called *haqīqat*-writing; which is, that the teacher gives him orally in Urdu the substance (*haqīqat*) of what he is to say in his letter, and out of this he constructs an original composition in Persian. (4) In the fourth stage, the pupil is practised in writing more difficult letters; he also takes lessons in reading letters of business (*maktúb*) written in *shikasta*, the broken running hand. When the arts of reading Persian authors, of writing Persian letters, and of deciphering *shikasta* letters have been acquired, the pupil's school training is considered complete. After this, if he wants to learn more, he must repair to some learned *Maulvī* in *Farangī Mahal*, Lucknow city, or elsewhere.

Arithmetic is seldom,—practically it may be said never,—taught in *maktabs*. Most of the *Maulvīs*, certainly as many as 95 per cent., are not acquainted even with the principles of Numeration. In the whole of the literary course, the study of which lasts for 10 or 12 years, nothing is presented to the student's mind respecting the common facts of nature, and nothing in the way of History or Geography, except what little of the former can be gathered from the historical or quasi-historical poems studied near the close of the course. Yet the *maktabs* or Mahomedan schools (secular) are the best of the Indigenous schools in this part of India. "The education given in *maktabs*," as the Deputy Inspector of *Partabgarh* remarks, "is considered to be far superior to that given in any other class of Indigenous schools: and there certainly seems much truth in this opinion; for this kind of education turns out better men, more clever, and more independent than are to be found among either *Kaithī* or *Brahmanī* students."

The statistics relating to the Private *maktabs*, or family tutorships, may be summed up under the following heads:—

- (a.) The total number of Private *maktabs* in Oudh in June 1874 was 503, the total number of pupils receiving instruction was 2,251, and the average number of scholars to each tutor or family teacher was 4·5. As registers are not kept, there is some uncertainty as to the statistics of attendance; but the figures cannot be far wrong, as the Deputy Inspector first wrote down the number of pupils whom he saw present, and then what the teacher conjectured to be the average daily attendance. Whenever the 2 statements differed, which was

not often, I added half the difference to the number actually present.

- (b.) The average number of years, during which each school had existed, was 4·8 years. The schools, therefore, as might be expected, are of a most ephemeral nature, dependent merely upon the will of the head of the family, and lasting only so long as his sons continue to be of an age fit for pupilage.
- (c.) In two hundred and eleven of these Private maktabas, that is, in 42 per cent. of the total, one or more of the pupils present could read, and explain the sense of, an Urdu book of moderate difficulty not seen before. In two hundred and sixty-three, that is, in 52 per cent. of the total, one or more of the pupils present could write an easy Urdu sentence from dictation without making bad mistakes.
- (d.) Out of all these 503 schools, only fifteen, or less than 3 per cent. taught Arithmetic: and even this figure is misleading: for in most instances, when a boy was found to possess some slight knowledge of addition or multiplication, it turned out that he had been for some time previously a pupil in a Government school.

Considering that 10 years is the amount of time generally required for completing the Persian course, and that the average longevity of each school examined was less than 5 years, and that the Vernacular is taught only indirectly and incidentally through the Persian, the results attained, as regards reading and writing the Vernacular, are quite as good as could have been expected.

The next class of Mahomedan schools consists of those kept by professional Maulvis on their own account, and devoted either wholly or in part to secular teaching. The system of teaching in these Independent schools is the same in all respects as that followed in the Family schools. The aim of both is to teach the art of reading and writing Persian. The teachers, too, are men of entirely the same stamp as those employed as private tutors in families, except that in the Independent maktabas the teacher is sometimes a native doctor, who combines medical with tuitional practice.

The following are the chief results elicited as to the number and status of the Independent secular maktabas existing in Oudh in 1874:—

- (a.) In the whole of Oudh there were only 60 secular Independent maktabas; the total number of pupils receiving education was 497; and the average number of pupils

to each school was 8. In the Kheri and Fyzabad districts no schools of this description were found in existence, and in the Gonda district only one.

- (b.) The average number of years during which each school had been in existence was 5·6 years. The schools are therefore of a very ephemeral character. In reckoning up this average, I omitted 4 or 5 schools of an exceptionally long duration, in order to avoid giving a false impression as to the average permanence of the rest. For instance, one school was reported to be 200 years old, and another to be 300 years old. It is doubtful how far these figures can be trusted, and in any case to have included them in calculating the average would have given a wrong result as to the average permanence of the rest. The few schools, whose longevity contrasted with the short lives of the rest, were supported by endowments. The unendowed schools are almost as ephemeral as the family tutorships.
- (c.) Thirty-five schools were teaching Persian only, and 25 Persian *plus* the Qurán. The latter are the schools attended by Mahomedans. The former are attended partly by Mahomedans, and partly by Hindu Kayths.
- (d.) In 39 schools, that is, in 65 per cent. of the total, one or more pupils were found able to read and explain an Urdu book of moderate difficulty, and to write easy sentences from dictation.
- (e.) In one school only was Arithmetic being taught, and this only up to the multiplication tables.

The teachers in the Private maktabas, as I have shown, are supported by their employer, besides occasionally receiving fees from the sons of outsiders. In the Independent maktabas, on the contrary, they have to rely entirely upon the fees and presents which they can collect from their pupils, except in cases where there is some endowed property attached to the school. Endowments, however are rare. In the Lucknow district there is 1 endowment, in Rae Bareilly 1, in Partabgarh 1, and in Sitapur 1. There may be a few more; but Deputy Inspectors could not always obtain a distinct answer to their enquiries on this subject.

The remaining class of Independent maktabas, consists of those maintained for purely religious purposes. In these schools the only book taught is the Qurán. Here the education is not merely gratuitous, but the pupils are fed and sometimes clothed. The statistics collected concerning these schools showed that in 1874 the number

of schools was 39, the aggregate number of scholars 225, the average attendance per school 5·8, and the average duration of each school 9·7 years.

As the exclusive aim of these schools is to teach the Qurán, no pupils were found able to read or explain either an Urdu or a Persian author. For the same reason no boys could either write or count. The teachers are sometimes men afflicted with blindness, and in one school (namely, one of those in the Bahraich district), the pupils, too, were all blind. But this does not prevent the latter from acquiring what the teacher desires to impart, namely, the power to repeat the Qurán by heart. Explanation and translation are designedly omitted, as being irrelevant and even obstructive to the aims of the teacher.

With two exceptions, all the religious maktabas are supported by private liberality,—sometimes by the teacher himself, but generally by one or more persons, who put their funds together for the purpose of maintaining the teacher and his scholars. Weavers work as they recite. Two schools, namely, those two which were found in the Bahraich district, are supported by endowment. Possibly there may be a few more of this class; for the teachers were not always willing to say how or by whom they were supported.

The two next classes of Indigenous schools are the Kaithí schools, Private and Independent. As the system pursued in both is identical, they need not be considered separately. All that is taught in these schools is Kaithí writing and the bazar system of Arithmetic. In many of the 91 schools found in existence in 1874 the mode of writing taught is not Kaithí but Mahájani, both of which are corrupt forms of Nagrí. Kaithí writing is the form used by the landed class and by village-accountants; Mahájani by bankers, money-lenders and shop-keepers.

The number of Private or Family schools was 41, the total number of scholars 232, and the average number to each school 5·3. The position of the Guru in the Kaithí Family schools is analogous to that of the Maulví in the Persian Family school. The men who employ such tutors are either wealthy Banyas or Zemindars. The Guru is not merely a family teacher but general manager of his master's accounts, and if his master is a landowner, he is the medium of communication between the landowner and the bazar dealer.

The Independent Kaithí schools were 50 in number, educating 627 pupils; the average number of scholars per school was 12·5, and the average duration of each school up to the time when it was examined was 8 years. It causes much surprise at first to find that in a country, where Kaithí is very widely used, there were

only 50 Independent Kaithí schools found in existence. The fact, however, is easily explained. During the rainy season there were probably 3 times the number of schools recorded above, and 3 or 4 times the number of scholars. The enquiries recorded in this report were made before the rainy season had commenced ; and it is only in the rainy season, when the Banyas (shop-keepers) remain at home; and the boys have less work out of doors, that bázár schools can flourish. They dry up, like the earth, with the approach of the dry weather. Some few schools last out the whole year, and these are the schools which the Deputy Inspectors found in existence. The schools under review are supported by fees : but one school (in the Lucknow district) is supported by an endowment, and this is the oldest Kaithí school in Oudh.

The teaching at Kaithí schools, both Private and Independent, is of a simple, even of a rude character ; but for the purposes for which it is intended, wonderfully effective and complete. According to the popular saying, "from the beginning of the world we "have never felt the want of any other rules of Arithmetic for "carrying on every kind of business." The students never use a book. But by means of the tables and rules which they commit to memory they can not only calculate all their accounts correctly, but do it more quickly than pupils taught in our own schools. The whole of the Kaithí course, including both Writing and Arithmetic, can be easily mastered in one year, if the pupil is diligent and not less than 11 or 12 years of age. For the purposes of bázár trade the system is perfect, and in proportion to its usefulness the most economical of time and labour and books, that ever has been or probably could be invented. On the other hand, for the purposes of education, (if by education is meant the training of the reasoning and other faculties), it is almost nil. To the Kaithí student Arithmetic is merely an art which it is useful to be able to practise, but which he has no power or wish to understand in theory ; though doubtless it required a man of much foresight and originality to invent and arrange the several kinds of tables by which the trader can calculate almost anything with a remarkable degree of promptness and precision. On leaving a Kaithí school, the student cannot read the simplest Nagrí book, and his mind has not been enlarged by a single new idea upon any subject in the world.

The last kind of Indigenous school to be noticed in this article consists of the Sanskrit patshalas. These schools are not exclusively religious in their aims ; but they come nearer to the level of the Mahomedan religious makhtabs than any other Indigenous schools in Oudh. What Arabic is to the Musalmáns, Sanskrit is to

Class VI.—Sanskrit schools.

the Hindus: and the methods, according to which both are taught, are not dissimilar. The Pandits of Sanscrit schools never engage in family-teaching, as do the Maulvís of Persian maktabas and the Gurus of Kaithi patshalas. All the Sanscrit schools may, therefore, be classed as Independent.

There were 63 Sanscrit schools in all in 1874, and 506 pupils; the average attendance per school being 8. The Sanscrit schools are, as a rule, the most ancient and the most permanent in Oudh. Some of them, it is true, are schools of yesterday; but the average duration of each school, even when these are included, comes to 27·8 years. As the character of Nagrí and Sanscrit is the same, more than half the schools possessed a pupil or two who could read a modern Nagrí book, but very few contained a scholar who could explain the sense. Arithmetic is entirely neglected, except that a moderate acquaintance with Multiplication and Division is gained indirectly through the study of Astrology in those schools where this subject happens to be taught. New Sanscrit schools are springing up every year in Ayudhya. What Lucknow is to Mohamedan learning, Ayudhya is to Hindu learning.

The Sanscrit schools teach one or more of the following subjects; Karamkand (the book of ceremonies relating to marriages, funerals, &c.); the páts or bñoks of prayer; Vyakaran or Grammar in some 5 or 6 different books; one or more of the Puráns or sacred histories; Jyotish or Astrology, the science of telling fortunes. The Vernacular is never taught. Arithmetic is not taught except indirectly or accidentally through Jyotish, and that little badly; for Jyotish is taught only through the medium of the Sanscrit, and the Sanscrit is very seldom understood. Composition is never taught; but most pupils can write Nagrí when something is given them to copy, because the scarcity of printed and manuscript books compels them to be constantly copying out some Sanscrit text.

The Sanscrit schools are neither attended nor taught by any but Brahmins. Some of the pupils are day-scholars and some are boarders. Of the latter the majority are paupers, supported during the period of study either by the more wealthy neighbours or by the teacher himself; if both of these fail, they support themselves by begging from door to door,—an alternative which renders regular attention to study impossible. The boarders, those at least who are dependent upon the teacher's charity, are not merely his pupils but his servants. They consent to do any kind of work which he tells them to do, such as looking after his cattle, or taking them out to graze, or cutting and bringing in the produce of the fields. They are sometimes deputed to perform religious ceremonies in the houses of neighbours, when the head

Brahmin himself is not able to go. Domestic occupations do not necessarily interfere with study ; for the pupils recite, while they work, as the weavers do in the Mahomedan religious maktabas.

The Sanscrit patshalas are not merely the oldest, but also the richest of the Indigenous schools in Oudh. According to the information furnished by Deputy Inspectors, 13 schools out of 63, that is 20·6 per cent., possess endowments in the form of landed property ; some of which pay no rent to the Government and are for that reason called *muáfi*. There is some reason to think that the number of endowed Sanscrit schools is considerably more than 20 per cent. The Pandits were not always willing to say how they were supported, and it was not easy to decide in all cases whether they were merely trustees of endowed lands, or whether they were the owners of the estates, by which they and the schools were maintained. It is certain in any case that Sanscrit patshalas are not supported by fees, as are most other Indigenous schools of the independent class ; and that those, which have no endowment attached to them, are maintained by the private liberality either of the teacher himself, or of the neighbouring laymen. In this respect also they resemble the religious maktabas.

Having thus brought under review the 6 different classes of Indigenous schools, I will now mention a few characteristics which are common to all :—

(a.) The methods of teaching and mode of management are the same in all. Registers of attendance are not kept ; nor is any regular routine of study observed. Pupils are not divided into classes. If two boys should happen to be reading from a book by the same author, they will invariably be found reading at different places. The pupil always reads aloud, seated on the ground, and swinging his body up and down. The constant exercise of the lungs and spine is believed to assist the memory : and memory is the only mental faculty deemed worthy of cultivation. To sit still, and study thoughtfully without using the voice, is a practice wholly unknown. To be silent is the same thing as to be indolent.

(b.) The Vernacular is not studied in any of the Indigenous schools. Pupils taught in the Kaithí and Mahajání schools can neither read a Nagrí book nor write in the Nagrí character. Those taught in Sanscrit schools cannot avoid learning the Nagrí character, because Sanscrit books are written in Nagrí ; but they never study a modern Hindí book or practise Hindí composition. Those taught in the Persian schools are never set to read an Urdu author or to write an Urdu letter. The first aim of Primary schools should be to teach pupils to read and write their own Vernacular ; but this is what the Indigenous schools studiously

avoid. If any results of this kind are attained, it is not the effect of direct aim or effort, but the indirect result of studying classical languages.

(c.) None of the Indigenous schools have any separate school-houses. If the school is a private one, whether of the Kaithí or the Persian class, the teacher uses a room given by the patron or teaches at the patron's door. In the case of the Sanscrit schools and that of the Independent Kaithí schools, the pupils meet either in the teacher's house or outside his door. In the case of the Independent maktab, the teacher assembles the pupils either in his own house or in a mosque, or in some house lent him for the purpose.

(d.) The Indigenous schools never teach more than one subject or class of subject. According to native notions, a school should have one aim and one only, and should strictly confine itself to that : a mental training for general purposes is altogether repugnant to native notions of utility. The secular maktab, for example, teach the art of reading and writing Persian, and this only. Even penmanship of a high order (*nastáliq*) is in most cases taught as a separate art and under a separate teacher. The religious maktab teach the Qurán, and nothing more. The Kaithí schools teach only Kaithí writing and *bazár* arithmetic. The Sanscrit schools teach only Sanskrit. Thus the education given at an Indigenous school, whatever it may be, is as one-sided as it can be made. The exceptions to this rule are very few. There is one Nagrí or Sanscrit school in the Hardoi district, where some of the pupils are also learning Kaithí ; and there is one Kaithí school, where Persian is also taught. These are the only two exceptions I could find out of all the Indigenous schools which were examined.

(e.) The Indigenous schools, excepting those which are purely religious, are all Special or Professional schools ; that is, their aim is to prepare a pupil for some specific trade or calling, not to educate his faculties ; and any study not directly conducive to the fulfilment of this aim is rejected as irrelevant and obstructive. Thus the Kaithí and Mahajaní schools give the kind of instruction necessary for a village accountant (*patwári*) or for a shop-keeper (*Banya*). In the Sanskrit schools a pupil learns to be either a family priest (*Pandit* or *Purohit*), or a fortune-teller (*Jyotishi*), or a reciter of Puráns ; for in either of these ways a Brahmin can earn a livelihood. In the Persian maktab a man learns what will best qualify him, or rather what is believed will best qualify him, to become a Vernacular clerk (*moharrir*) or an agent to a *Talukdár* (*mukhtár*) or a physician (*hakím*). The only exception to this rule is that in some of the Private maktab, namely, in those kept by

wealthier patrons, children are not taught with professional or mercenary objects in view, but because it is considered by their parents to be a mark of respectability to keep a family-tutor.

(f.) Lastly, the Indigenous schools are schools for the rich or middle classes and for the higher castes ; they are not schools for the general population. Thus in the Family schools the only pupils taught are either the patron's own sons and relatives, or the children of outsiders of the same social status as himself. The Kaithí and Mahajaní schools are attended almost exclusively by the landed class, the shop-keepers and traders, men for the most part in easy circumstances. The Sanskrit schools are attended exclusively by Brahmins ; some of the pupils, it is true, are poor, depending on the teacher for support, but they are all Brahmins, men of the highest caste in the country. The Independent secular maktab̄s are seldom attended by any but Kayth̄s,—the highest caste after Brahmins and Chhatt̄ris,—and Mahomedans of the upper or non-labouring class. The only schools to which poor Mahomedans resort, are the religious maktab̄s, in which nothing but the Qurán is taught.

It will be seen, then, how great is the contrast between the Indigenous schools and the Government Primary schools. In each of the 5 characteristics described above, the Government Primary schools go upon the very opposite plan. Boys are taught in classes and according to a fixed routine, and it is the aim of these schools, whether they succeed or not, to give more encouragement to the thinking faculties, than to memory. Knowledge is taught entirely through the Vernacular, and Persian is taught only as an optional subject. To every school there is a separate school-house in which the pupils meet. Every school teaches several different subjects, and not merely one ; and some attention is paid to History, Geography and the common facts of nature, as well as to Writing, Literature, and Arithmetic. The object of the teaching is to improve the pupil's mind, and not merely to train him for some particular trade or calling, to the rigorous exclusion of every study not directly conducive to this. Above all, the Government Primary schools are not confined to the rich and to children of the higher castes. The fees paid by the pupils are much less than those paid at the Indigenous schools ; and children of the lower castes, such as Kurmis, Ahirs, Murayis, &c., and occasionally even sons of faq̄irs or religious mendicants, can be seen in attendance with sons of Brahmins, Kayth̄s, Chhatt̄ris, Banyas and others. It is true, that the lower castes are less frequently represented than could be wished ; but the Government schools are open to all, while the Indigenous schools are designedly exclusive. The Government schools are in fact the only lower class schools in

the country, if the term "lower class" refers to the classes admitted, as well as to the standard of instruction.

Having thus shewn what the Indigenous schools are, we have now to consider what means, if any, can be employed for extending Primary Vernacular education among the lower classes of the people through the medium of these schools. If the account given above is true, it would seem that the schools in question afford no basis whatever for carrying out such an object; in fact, that no such thing as an Indigenous system of primary national schools, open to the general population, exists in Oudh or in Upper India generally. If we take each class of school in succession, it will be seen how very unpromising such a machinery is.

First as to the Private schools, that is, the schools (if they can be called so) in which the pupils are merely the sons or relatives of some private person, and the teacher is merely a private tutor in his employment. The Persian Family schools 494 in number, and the Kaithi Family schools 41 in number, being both of the same stamp, may be considered together. To convert these into primary national schools open to all classes, is, I believe, impossible: and it is only upon this condition that they could become entitled to Government aid. Many patrons would no doubt be willing to allow the Government to pay the salary of their private tutor; many again have refused very distinctly to permit Government interference in their family arrangements. But it is clear that, whatever professions may have been made by some patrons of willingness to accept Government aid and supervision, the family-tutor will obey the orders of the man who pays his salary rather than those of an officer appointed from without to supervise his teaching, and that the school will remain closed to any but those, whom the patron is willing to admit. It is a remarkable fact that most of these Family schools are in the vicinity of Government schools, and many of them are maintained by Government officers; from which it follows, that private tutors are entertained, not because there are no other means of instruction within reach, but because the father prefers to have his children taught separately from children of other castes, or because he thinks the old method better than that used in Government schools, or because he wants a Maulvi for purposes other than that of merely teaching his sons, or because he feels it to be necessary to his position in society to keep a person of this kind on the establishment. In all such cases, Government interference and inspection would seem to be entirely out of place. It appears to me that the State can no more interfere with a man's family-tutor than it can with this cook or any other domestic retainer. Moreover, most of the private tutors would refuse State aid, even if the employer

allowed them to take it. For if they receive such aid, they know that they will be expected to work harder, and it is not at all to their interest to get the sons of their employers educated too fast.

Now the Private or Family schools, taking the two classes together, amount to 544, that is, 72 per cent. of the total number of Indigenous schools in Oudh. This leaves only 212 schools of the class which I have termed Independent. Of these public schools 39 are religious or Arabic maktabas, 63 are Sanscrit patshalas, 60 are secular or Persian maktabas, and 50 are Kaithi patshalas.

The religious or Arabic maktabas may be at once left out of the question. The teachers are either blind men, or weavers, or Maulvis, who neither know, nor wish to know, anything but the Qurán. The pupils in such schools cannot be said to be receiving any education at all : for to repeat the Qurán mechanically, without reference to Grammar or sense, is not more and not less rational, than to churn prayers by water, or to hang them out to the wind on lettered flags, as is done by the illiterate Bhuddists of Bhootan. Besides this the teachers, if they can be called so, are unalterably persuaded of the infinite superiority of their own wisdom over that of Europeans or any other races of infidels. The offer of State aid would be rejected with scorn.

The Sanscrit schools, 63 in number, are for several reasons quite as incapable of improvement as the Arabic maktabas. They teach, as I have shewn, nothing but Sanscrit, and to none but Brahmins. To expect these Brahmin teachers to change their system would be equal to expecting them to change their caste. Pecuniary inducements in the form of Government aid would have little or no force. For the teachers are already well off in most cases, and those, who are not supported by endowments, would not risk the chance of losing the support of their present patrons for the sake of a grant-in-aid from Government of much less value. The teachers, too, are quite incapable of teaching any of the subjects which the Government wishes to encourage, even if they could be induced to do so.

The schools next to be considered are the secular Independent maktabas. In the constitution of these schools there is no inherent obstacle to their being brought under some system of aid and inspection. But their number is very small, only 60 in all Oudh ; the average attendance is also very small, only eight pupils ; and the schools themselves are of a very ephemeral nature, the average duration of each being only 5·6 years. They teach less than what is taught in Government Primary schools, are less popular, and less permanent. They are too scattered to admit of circle teachers or Sub-Deputy Inspectors being appointed to look after them. They have no proper school-houses, in which an increased

number of pupils could meet, supposing an increased number could be collected. When a Government school can only collect 16 pupils, it is condemned to be closed ; but these schools cannot collect more than half this number. It would be impolitic as well as inconsistent to aid schools which the Department would abolish if they were its own. The reason apparently why Indigenous schools have been singled out for aid, is because it is thought expedient to conserve and improve *permanent* native institutions : but there is nothing permanent in the constitution of these schools. Excepting a few which are endowed, they are all schools of yesterday ; and the teachers would leave them at once and seek for private employment in the family of some Kayth or Mahomedan, if a better salary were offered them.

The only remaining schools are the Independent Kaithi schools, 50 in number. The same remarks apply with very little difference. The tendency of these schools to disappear during the dry months of the year renders them perhaps less capable of permanent improvement than the secular maktabas.

In a thickly-peopled province like Oudh, there is more than room enough both for Indigenous schools and for Departmental schools. The two between them cover only a small proportion of the total area. Counting both the Indigenous and the Departmental schools, there is on an average only one school to every 13 square miles, and the number of boys receiving education is only about five per cent. of the native population. A Government school educating about 25 pupils daily can be kept up at a cost of Rs. 8 or 10 per mensem, and whenever a new school of this kind is opened, it becomes the means of bringing pupils under instruction, most, if not all, of whom would otherwise receive no education. The Educational Department has no funds to spare for trying experiments of doubtful success ; but even if it had, it would seem to be bad economy, in an under-educated province like this, to spend money upon schools which are already self-supporting and are doing some good, instead of opening new schools which will bring new pupils under instruction, will have three or four times as many scholars, and will teach them a good deal better.

The only useful result elicited by this inquiry is that, there is no such thing in Oudh (or in Upper India generally) as an Indigenous system of Primary schools open to the general population, as the Government schools are. They are not, so far as the evidence goes to prove, the relics of a decayed village system ; for they exist in towns much more frequently than in villages ; they are intensely exclusive in their aims and character ; they are patronized by the rich rather than the poor ; they are attended by the high

castes and not by the low or Sudra castes ; a very large majority are not schools at all in the proper sense of the term ; they seldom last so long as 10 years ; and they still more rarely have so many as 10 pupils. The testimony given by the Hindus themselves in their own literature appears to imply, that no such thing as a system of village schools, open to all classes, could ever have existed in ancient India. The author of the Institutes lays down the principle that none but the twice-born castes are to be allowed the privilege of education ; and the education of Sudras and of the mixed castes is strictly prohibited. He laments, too, in several places, that even among Brahmans, there is a perpetual tendency to become degraded to the rank of Sudras. This tendency has been prevailing, and in fact increasing, from Manu's time till now. The Sudras and mixed castes are as illiterate now as they were then ; and the Indigenous schools, far from affording instruction to the masses of the people, have never recognized their existence.

I am not aware on what grounds it has been supposed that the Hindu Indigenous schools of these provinces, as we now find them, are the relics of a decayed system of *National* village schools. In the old Hindu township or municipal system, there was the Headman, who is spoken of in Manu as the agent of the king : there was the Accountant, who kept the village records, drew up deeds for the different owners of land, and wrote private letters for such as required his services for this purpose : there was the Moneylender, the Priest, the Astrologer, the Blacksmith, the Carpenter, the Barber, the Potter, the Leather-worker, the Watchman, &c., but no place is found for the Schoolmaster. It is more than probable, however, that as the offices of Accountant and Moneylender were hereditary, (like those of the Patwári and the Maháján at the present day), these classes kept up some kind of schools of their own, in which one or other of the Prákrita dialects then in use and some broken form of the Devanagrí character were taught to the sons of the parents concerned and their relatives. If such was the case, the schools so established must have answered very nearly to the Kaithi and Mahájani schools of the present day. Again, it may be considered certain, that the Brahmin families, out of which the Priest (Purohit) and the Astrologer (Jyotishi) were selected, required some means of instruction for the benefit of those members of their caste who were to succeed them : and we are told by Elphinstone that one or other of these two officers did, in fact, act as schoolmaster within the township. Such schools must have corresponded very closely with the Sanskrit schools of the present day, the special aim of which, as we have shewn already, is to train young Brahmans for the offices of Priest or Astrologer. There are no grounds for assuming, (in fact the

spirit of Manu's code points to a result the very opposite), that the high caste Hindus were more zealous, or rather less indifferent, about the intellectual enlightenment of their low caste brethren in ancient days than they are now. Seeing how very exclusive these so-called Indigenous schools are at the present day, and how intensely conservative the Hindus are and always have been as a nation, we are justified, as I think, in arguing backwards and interpreting the past in the light of the present. If the Sanskrit schools of to-day are confined to Brahmans, (and we know that they *are* so confined), we feel no hesitation in concluding that they were equally exclusive in the days of Manu and in succeeding centuries : and the same argument applies with no less force to Kaithi and Mahājani schools. The schools in question were probably less ephemeral, more regularly attended, and better taught in days, when the old Hindu municipal system was flourishing in its full pristine vigor, than they have since become under the rule of successive races of foreigners and the consequent disruption of the Hindu polity. But in the absence of all evidence to the contrary, we are justified in concluding that the Indigenous schools of the present day, shattered and weakened as they may have become by a long succession of adverse influences, are still essentially the same in character and aim as they ever were ; or in other words, that they were never, in their most palmy days, attended by the general population, or by the low castes, or by any classes other than those which established them and which still exclusively attend them. The high castes have suffered much more than the low from the social and political changes which have followed the Mahummedan and British conquests. If there ever was a low caste element in the Indigenous schools of ancient India, and if these schools were ever really *national*, as some members of the Commission appear to think, how is it that not a trace of this Sudra element has survived to the present day, and that the only surviving element is that of the high castes, which have lost so much of their former influence and power ? In the face of these facts, it is difficult to believe that the Indigenous schools of modern India, as we now see them, are a relic of a decayed system of village schools, in which the sons of Kurmis, Chamars, Pásis, Lohárs, and the many other mixed and low castes associated with the sons of Brahmans and Banyas to receive the elements of knowledge.

In Oudh the project of aiding and improving the so-called
 • Indigenous schools has been discussed by Government on one or two occasions in the course of the last fifteen years ; but as neither the Chief Commissioners for the time being, nor the local educational department, felt any confidence in the success of the

schemes proposed, the experiment has never been made up to date. On the contrary, in the North-Western Provinces this policy has been a tradition ever since the time when Mr. Thomason, who was Lieutenant-Governor up to the year 1853, inaugurated his scheme for primary education in that province. His plan was to establish a Government Vernacular School in each Tahsil station, or revenue division, which should serve as a model to the Indigenous schools, surrounding it. From this school, as from a centre, the institutions last named were to be visited, examined, and directed; the teachers and the villagers who employed them were to be advised, helped, and encouraged; and special rewards were to be given to those schoolmasters who made the best use of the aid and advice thus afforded them. The scheme was at first applied to a few selected districts, and the first results of its working in these districts were reported to have been so successful and satisfactory, that it was decided a few years afterwards to apply it to several more. It turns out, however, on looking more closely into the matter, that the success really achieved was in a direction the very opposite to what was intended by its originator. The avowed object of Mr. Thomason's scheme was to aid and improve the Indigenous schools. But the actual result of its working from the very first was not to improve the Indigenous schools at all, but to establish what are called Halquabaudi or Government circle schools in their neighbourhood, and thus to take the first step towards superseding and absorbing them. The so-called extension of Mr. Thomason's scheme, which was made soon after his death in 1853, consisted in nothing more than the extension of these circle schools. A local school-fund was established by the imposition of a cess of one per cent. on the land-revenue of the North-Western Provinces. Government village schools grew and multiplied apace; and the Indigenous schools, which were to have been aided and improved, received no aid or improvement at all, but preferred to go on as they were.

From the time of Mr. Thomason's original scheme up to the present day the policy of improving the Indigenous schools of the North-Western Provinces has been a tradition in that province; but a tradition and nothing more. Statistics relating to these schools were published year after year in the annual reports on public instruction, and comments, coupled sometimes with proposals, were made as to the possible utilization of these schools for the extension of elementary knowledge among the masses of the people. Nothing, however, was really done; and the annual reports published by the late Director, Mr. Kempson, are one long confession of failure. Every now and then the monotony is broken

by a temporary strain of triumph or hope; but the echoes of that strain have always died away in silence by the time the next year's report is published. For instance, in the report for 1871-72 (paras 207—210) the Director says:—"I am glad at last to be able to report signs of permanency and improvement." Then follows a tabular statement shewing that "326 schools educating 2,644 students have begun to use Government books." This sounds very promising. But in the very next report, there is not a word to tell us what further improvement was made in these 326 schools, to which such marked attention had been drawn in the previous year; and we are left to infer that "the signs of permanency and improvement" turned out illusory and resultless after all. Again, in the report for 1872-73, the Indigenous schools receive for the first time a classification into Lower, Middle, and Higher; and the Director states that the object of collecting these statistics "is to bring the more important schools into contact with our own system by inspection and examination, and by assistance under the grant-in-aid rules, when the teaching is good. Examinations must follow classification, if the latter is to be of any use, and when once instituted will be the harbinger of important changes in books and system." But in the very next report, not a single hint is thrown out as to the results of the elaborate classification previously given, or of the examinations and grants-in-aid which were to follow. Instead of this we are favoured with a new classification of these still intractable schools; and whereas they were formerly classified into Lower, Middle and High, they are now arranged into (a) Lower and Middle, and (b) Special, and the denomination of High is cancelled. The subsequent reports are as silent about the improvements effected by this last arrangement, as the previous ones were about all the other schemes put forth at different times. For some 30 years running, Deputy Inspectors were engaged in hunting up statistics, which, for all the use that could be made of them, were absolutely worthless.

The truth appears to be, that the schools themselves were all along profoundly indifferent to the manifold and long continued exertions made by the North-West educational department on their behalf, and did not at all desire the aid or improvement which the officers of that department were so anxious to impart. It seems quite clear that, however consistently this policy may have been kept in view ever since the said department was founded, no one in the North-West knew what to make of it. The project is now being revived by the Educational Commission, and the question quoted at the head of this article shews how much importance is attached to it by that body. If the Commission can hit upon some plan, by which the Indigenous schools of Upper India can be

made the means of extending an useful course of primary education among the masses, they will have accomplished a task with which no one in the North-West, from Mr. Thomason downwards, notwithstanding the long tradition of the department, has yet been able to grapple.

I will only conclude with remarking that the success, with which departmental action has been brought to bear upon the Indigenous schools of Burina and Bengal, cannot, I think, be quoted as a precedent for what might be done in the Upper Provinces. I served for many years in Bengal, before I went to Burma or Oudh; and I have therefore had opportunities of observing how different the two cases are. The Indigenous schools of Bengal are of *one uniform type*. They all alike teach Bengali, the character and language of the people. The same character is used both for writing and for printing. The highest literary works which the Bengali genius has been able to produce, not to speak of the religious books and poetry which have been handed down to the people from their remote ancestors, are printed in this character. Thus a man, who has acquired the rudiments of knowledge at a Bengal Indigenous school, has a copious literature at his command, if he chooses to make use of it, and is in a position to mount the several steps of the educational ladder without any break in the continuity of his progress. Moreover, the inspection of such schools, since they are all of one homogeneous type, presents no difficulty, and even officers of the rank of Sub-Deputy Inspector can be, and are, entrusted with the task. And, lastly, Bengali is the court language and the court character; and so a man, who has been brought up at an Indigenous school, has acquired the art, which is so much valued by natives, of reading a court paper. The same remarks apply, with little or no modification, to the Indigenous schools of British Burma, which, during my tenure of office in that province, were brought into connection with the Government system of aid and examination. In the Upper Provinces of India, however, all these conditions are reversed. The very word "Indigenous schools" is misleading. Properly speaking, most of them are not schools at all, but private family tutorships. Again, they are not of one homogeneous type, but of several different types, some being Arabic, some Sanskrit, some Persian, some Kaithi, and some Mahajani. It is quite impossible that any one officer would be able to inspect and examine schools of such opposite descriptions. I question, indeed, whether there is any native in India, who is conversant alike with the Aryan and the Semitic languages, and with the various modern forms of those languages.

It is only the Kaithi and Mahajani schools, which can be called Primary, or which bear any resemblance to the Indigenous schools of Bengal or Burma. But even here the contrast of conditions is much greater than the likeness. The Kaithi and Mahajani characters, in the first place, are not one but two. In the second place, both have been systematically proscribed by the Government in these Provinces as unfit for general use. A boy, who learns Kaithi at a bázár school, can never expect to read a printed book, as long as he lives. Such knowledge places no literature, either secular or sacred, within his reach. If he wants this, his education must all be commenced *de novo*. He is entirely outside the groove of the Government system. The court papers in these provinces are printed, not in a character or language in general use among the people, but in a character, which was brought into its present shape by the Maulvis of Persia, and in a language which is almost as foreign to the masses as English. There is no grade of Government school, up to which the Kaithi and Mahajani schools could be improved,—no standard of instruction to which they could be made preparatory. The population of the Upper Provinces is as heterogeneous as the Indigenous schools which have sprung up amongst them. The bázár dealer is quite content, if he can scribble his despised Kaithi or Mahajani; the young Bráhmaṇ wants nothing but his time-honored Sanskrit; the Mahammedan and Kayasht, unless they prefer going to an English school, make Persian the sole aim of their ambition; the Hafizji and his pupils seek for nothing but the Qurán. We can scarcely speak of such men as belonging to the same nation; much less can we speak of the schools, which they represent, as constituting an uniform indigenous system. In short, the circumstances, which have rendered it possible, if not easy, to aid and improve the Indigenous schools of Burma and Bengal, are all entirely wanting in the Upper Provinces; and so long as this difference continues, the improvement, which has been made in the one, cannot be quoted as a reason for expecting that the same improvement can be made in the other.

J. C. NESFIELD.

ART. X.—THE MONASTIC AND SECULAR CLERGY OF PORTUGUESE INDIA.

IN the sixteenth century when the Portuguese acquired and enlarged their first conquests in this country, their expeditions were not dissimilar to the Crusaders, inasmuch as they were at least ostensibly undertaken just as much for the religious purpose of propagating the faith as for the secular object of enlarging the dominions of the King. Numerous priests always accompanied the expeditions of the cavaliers just as in the Crusades, and enjoyed the highest consideration; they inflamed the ardour of the combatants and secured them pardon for their sins. Wherever the Portuguese banner was planted, they erected altars, and proclaimed the evangel after every *Te Deum* they chanted for a victory gained.

After the first difficulties of the conquest had been overcome, the Padres found other occasions to augment their influence. They preached the extermination of the infidels according to the spirit of that period, and promulged instructions to the conquerors which being held sacred were implicitly obeyed. Their advice was taken in military undertakings as well as in international negotiations, and listened to respectfully. They meddled in political intrigues, and no one dared to resist them. Both the confessional and the pulpit were instrumental in increasing their authority, which was still more extended by their scientific attainments and worldly wisdom.

Certain friars enjoyed during the years of the conquest all the privileges allowed to the secular clergy, because they had first of all others, followed the conquerors to India. Europe, which was at that time rich in ascetics, furnished to this country a numerous militia composed of energetic monks, ready to jeopardize their lives for enlarging the boundaries of the Church, and anxious for new fields of labour. Some of these men were not only exemplary in their patience and self-abnegation, but also skilled in the sciences and the arts, whilst others culpably abusing the privileges of their position, abandoned the paths of austerity and sacrificed their monastic vows to mundane interests; others again never, swerving from their holy lives, persevered in their celestial contemplations and never interrupted them except to console the distressed, or to aid the helpless. The activity of the monks in propagating Christianity, founding Churches, building convents, establishing seminaries, was rewarded by the religious people who endowed these institutions with enormous sums of money as well as landed

estates, which made them rich and powerful, as their privileges and divine authority had made them inviolable.

The Franciscans were the first to establish a convent in India, and lay the foundation of the Christian religion among the population of Goa, which Affonso d' Albuquerque besieged and conquered in 1510. Their cares were first directed to the spiritual conquest of Bardez, the numerous ecclesiastical edifices of which district, still bear witness to their enterprize and zeal.

The Society of Jesus, joining the Franciscans, left deep traces of its learning, religious zeal, and vast conceptions. Its services were at first chiefly devoted to the district of Salsete and to some villages in the island of Goa, where the companions of St. Francis Xavier effected salutary changes in many customs, and instructed the people in agriculture as well as in handicrafts.

The Dominican and Augustinian friars, although they had chiefly undertaken to propagate the faith among the nations scattered in Asia, did not neglect to strengthen it in the island of Goa, as appeared from their flourishing seminaries.

The monks of St. João de Deus whose vocation was to treat the sick and to visit hospitals, faithfully kept their vows at first, and attended to the populations of the cities of Goa, Damaon and Diu.

The Theatines, the barefooted Carmelities, and the congregationalists of the oratory of St. Philip Nery also had their establishments in Goa.

As already observed above, the Franciscans were the first monks who established themselves in the city of Goa. Albuquerque gave to their superior Fr. Paulo de Coimbra the Muhummadan mosque in which they resided till 1521 when their magnificent convent was built. As the city had been conquered on the day on which the festival of St. Catherine is celebrated, she was considered to be the patroness of Goa, and a chapel was erected in her honor, which afterwards became a collegiate Church, and ultimately, the Cathedral of the East. During the first thirty years before any other monastic orders had obtained a footing, the Franciscans made numerous proselytes; according to approximate calculations not less than six thousand persons of various castes and sects were converted and admitted to the Christian faith in eight general baptisms. Gradually the Franciscans extended their labours beyond the precincts of the island of Goa; thus Fr. Antonio da Casal propagated the faith at Damaon, Bassein, and the districts pertaining to them. Fr. Antonio do Parto converted unbelievers in the North, destroyed pagódas, erected Churches on their sites, and catechized many Yogis and Faqirs. Fr. João Lovia and Fr. Antonio de S. Francisco journeyed in the Dekkan and proselytized in the dominions of the Nizám. Fr. Martinho de Guarda, Fr. Estevão, Fr.

João, and Fr. João de Elvas irrigated with their own blood the tree of the faith at Cananore. Fr. Henrique cemented the religion at Meliapore, Fr. Xisto and Fr. Francisco Galayo sacrificed their lives at Cochín. Fr. Vicente de Lagos succeeded by his fervent preaching, his virtues and his sufferings in converting the royal family of Tanor which came to Goa in order to receive the corroboration of its baptism from the first bishop D. João de Albuquerque. Fr. Pedro Amarante preached at Chandegary, Malandre, and Cochín to the infidels. Fr. Manuel propagated Christianity in Quilon, Travancore, and other regions.

When the Franciscans were reinforced in their apostolic crusade by the Jesuits, Dominicans, and others who gradually established missions, their distribution took place among the various orders. In their distribution the island of Goa was allotted to the Dominicans and Jesuits, whilst the Franciscans obtained Bardez. After being engaged entirely in the conversion and education of the people, the austere holiness of the Franciscans gave way to the influence of ambitious aspirations. They had been subject to the province of Portugal, but wished to be independent of it and to found one in India. The first attempt at separation in 1580 miscarried, it was again renewed 31 years afterwards, and finally succeeded only in 1619 when it was definitively constituted, and the Franciscans severing themselves from the mother-province established the independent province of St. Thomé, which soon distinguished itself, not only by a change of the rules of the order, but also by a complete relaxation of their severity. The consequences of this change slackened the zeal of the fathers in proselytising, was injurious to their piety and diverted them to worldly interests. Many of the inhabitants of Bardez who had not been converted by the force of conviction, openly again adopted idolatrous customs on account of the remissness of their pastors, and fell into the clutches of the Holy Inquisition, so that the province of St. Thomé, which was proud of the shadow of independence it enjoyed, furnished the Sacred Tribunal with many victims from its own proselytes.

It is, however, necessary to state that even during the first period of the conquest when the spiritual affairs were entirely in the hands of the Franciscans, these monks had neither the strength nor the courage to cope with the immorality of Goa, but looked quietly and unmoved upon the mire of gross immorality in which nearly the whole Christian population wallowed at their feet. It was a sad irony to the idolators to behold Europeans openly disregarding all the tenets preached to them; accordingly they refused to be converted, and many who had already embraced Christianity relapsed to the religion in which

they had been born, and which they considered to be decidedly superior.

After the turmoils of the conquest the Europeans gave way to sensuality, kept harems and begot a numerous illegitimate progeny. Justice became venal, and all means to accumulate wealth were considered expedient. Assassinations became common, and their perpetrators publicly boasted of them as of glorious achievements, shielded, as they were, by the pliability of the law, and by the ease with which false testimony could be procured.

The bishop, João de Albuquerque fulminated anathemas, and threatened the people with the wrath of heaven ; but in their hearts they only scoffed at the threats of the virtuous prelate. Apathy towards religious ordinances advanced so far, that the use of the sacraments had ceased, whilst, confession and communion seemed to have been abolished. At last, however, a reformer arrived who valiantly exerted himself against this deplorable state of irreligion and achieved great success ; this was no less a person than the celebrated St. Francis Xavier, a disciple of Ignatius Loyola, who arrived in Goa on the 6th May of 1542. This holy missionary at once entered into the closest terms of intimacy with the bishop João de Albuquerque who was a Franciscan monk, and these two great men undertook nothing except by mutual aid and consent.

St. Francis began by awakening religious feelings, and reviving good customs among the people. He snatched boys and girls from the quagmire of corruption, and taught them principles of morality ; he preached in public places, and in order to be understood by all, made use of the plainest Portuguese, the language of the people ; and his efforts were crowned with good results. The most dissolute persons were converted first ; crowds of people surrounded the tribunal of penitence, the confessional, day and night to such a degree, that the apostle wrote to his Jesuit brothers at Rome, that " if God were to multiply him by ten, and were to reproduce him in ten places, he would still be unable to satisfy so many penitents." Now fraudulent contracts were dissolved, concubines either abandoned or espoused in lawful wedlock ; wrongly taken property was restored, and the expenses of every household regulated. The whole aspect of Goa became changed and the polytheists were amazed ; after a while, however, the good this holy missionary had effected, again gradually disappeared, and the demoralisation checked by him continued to infect Christian society the more, because the missionaries who arrived afterwards, were more intent upon enlarging their religious conquests among the natives, than rescuing the Europeans from the abyss of impurity into which they had fallen.

The viceroy D. João de Castro complains, in a letter dated

Diu the 16th December 1546, and addressed to the King João III, of the difficulty he encounters in pulling away young men from the pleasures of Goa; and describing the corruption which has spread in India, he declares that people "think that there is nothing but to be born and to die, without considering any misdeeds to be sinful! They rob, murder, live luxuriously, and there is no conceivable wickedness of which they would be even a little ashamed." Disgusted, as he was, with this state of affairs, he requested the King to recall him to Portugal.

At the time this corruption had eaten itself into the marrow of Christian society, the Jesuits who began to arrive after St. Francis Xavier, had already become numerous. He had begun his labours by converting the Europeans themselves, that their example might not be a stumbling-block to the propagation of the faith among the infidels; but his successors in lieu of stemming the torrent of demoralisation, allowed it free course, and concentrated all their efforts on making proselytes among the natives, but their endeavours were foiled by false religious zeal, fomented, as it was, by the revolting intolerance of those times, and the horrors of the Inquisition.

Intolerance was inaugurated by the destruction of all the Hindu temples and Muhammadan mosques which existed in the island of Goa. Every polytheistic emblem was annihilated, and even the books of the natives that could be confiscated, were given to the flames, because they were suspected of containing religious doctrines. Conversion was, indeed, sometimes effected by preaching but aided by the sword. The Viceroy Francisco Barreto (1555), and already before his time the Jesuits, had issued orders, that polytheists should not practice any kind of religious ceremony, that they should not be employed in the service of the State in competition with Christians, that married women, if they made profession of the Christian religion, should be entitled to one-half of the property of their husbands, that the orphans of polytheistic fathers should be taken from their homes and baptized, &c. These and similar laws subsisted during a whole century, and it may easily be imagined, considering the zeal of the missionaries and the fanaticism of the conquerors that they were executed with severity. No impression was made on the hard-hearted minions of blind zeal by the agonizing shrieks of mothers when their sucklings were snatched from their bosoms; nor by the cries of despairing widows whose sons were kidnapped for conversion.

The Seminary of Santa Fé pompously called "the University" of Goa had two divisions, the one for 100 boys of various oriental nations and for Portuguese orphans, whilst the other higher one

was intended for those who were to become priests, and appeared to possess talents to acquire the more difficult branches of knowledge. This institution was opened in 1556, and its studies included three Latin classes, one course of philosophy, and one chair of morality in which Padre Belchior Carneiro the bishop elect of Nicea was the first lecturer. Padre Antonio Quadros taught philosophy whilst Marcos Nunes and Joseph Ribeiro presided over the 3rd and 1st Latin class; the professor of the 2nd class, however, is not known. To these studies in course of time also a course of speculative theology was added; so that we have a brief account of the whole curriculum of this ancient university.

The Jesuits had a college at Rachol and another at Chorao, but imparted primary instruction in their house of neophytes, in their retreats of Serra and Magdalena, but more largely in their parish-schools where the boys were, besides writing and arithmetic, also taught to play on the fiddle and organ, for the purpose of accompanying their masters in their peregrinations to hold various festivals in the churches, where these boys served in the vocal and instrumental performances of music during the religious ceremonies.

For a long time no other schools existed, and the number of proselytes gathered chiefly from the villages of Carcumbolim, Divar, Batim Chorão, St. Lorenzo, and other islands of Goa, amounted in 1560 to thirteen thousand and ninety-two as Fr. Francisio de Sousa author of the *Oriente Conquistado*, who was also a Jesuit, informs us. Also the province of Salsete, although it contains many indelible vestiges of the religious vandalism of the Jesuits, can boast of churches and chapels erected by them. The first missionary who came to Salsete was Padre Pero Mascarenhas, who fixed his residence in a chapel which became in course of time the principal church of this district. He made numerous proselytes as early as the year 1561, the first of these being the writer of the "Camara Geral" [General Chamber], a native of Cortalim, who took the name of this monk. Pero Mascarenhas was followed by another monk, Pero Collaço whose name survives in the descendants of a Brahman of Margão. He was succeeded by Padre Luiz de Goes and Padre Balthasar Gago, both celebrated in the chronicles of the Society of Jesus; the first for having been greatly concerned in the destruction of the pagodas of Salsete, and the second for having destroyed two Muhammedan mosques, for which he was incarcerated and would have lost his life, if the Portuguese Government had not taken reprisals by confining all the Moslems found in their territory, and thus effected his liberation. The conversion of Salsete was followed by the erection

and endowment of churches, many of which were built, and some of them still remain intact, whilst it became necessary to reconstruct others, which had been burnt by the Muhammedans after the Government of the Viceroy D. Luiz de Athaide (1581) when they destroyed nearly all the religious monuments of Salsete. Most of these churches were, for the purpose, according to the policy of the Jésuits engrafting the new religion upon the old one, and to assimilate the features of the one to the other, built upon the sites where pogodas had formerly stood. The college at Margão was built in 1574, but the edifice having been burnt by the Muhammedans, the institution was transferred to Rachol, whence it was again removed to the former place, but ultimately reconstructed in the latter. These and other structures are majestic and durable, elegant and admirably constructed. The Jesuits prospered in all their undertakings, and acquired immense wealth and power; at last, however, they became suspected not only by the civil authorities but by their own spiritual head, the Pope himself, and the order was summarily abolished during the latter half of the preceding century, but revived during the present.

It is not known with certainty during what year the natives of this country became priests. Most likely the first were those who studied in the Seminary da Santa Fé under the direction of the Jesuits, because such men, if well educated, could with their perfect command of the vernacular, serve as the most brilliant proof of the success of the missionaries in the evangelization of the people.

In the third council held at Goa in 1585 under the presidency of the archbishop Fr. Vicente da Fonseca, rules were framed how clerics ought to be selected, educated, and guided by example. In the decrees of that council, the following passage occurs:—“And because the same apostle St. Paul speaking on the matter of new converts says, *non recophitum ne in superbiam elatus*, &c., the ancient councils ruled, that new converts should not be ordained, unless with all caution, after severel years of probation, and as the experience of this province has shown that there is some necessity for this, the council recommends that prelates should not bestow the sacred orders upon persons baptized as adults, unless after 15 years' probation, and that they shall not have the cure of souls, unless they complete the 30th year of their age, after which the order may be conferred upon them, in conformity with the ancient canons, but they must be of good caste, of honoured and pure families, because for such men the other Christians will have more respect. They must also be men of good report, temperate

chaste, honest, and well acquainted with the vernacular of the district in which they are to labour, and also with Latin, and cases of conscience; they must exercise themselves in the ministry of making proselytes."

But the council convoked in 1606 under the government of the archbishop Aleixo de Menezes who was at the same time also Viceroy, is more explicit and declares that even the sons of infidels and of new converts may receive sacred orders, but the sons of Christian nobles are to be preferred to them. To this effect the following passage occurs in the 40th decree:—"In order that, as much as possible, the sacerdotal dignity, and the veneration due to ecclesiastic persons may be conserved, this sacred council commands that, of the natives of the country, no persons of low caste be admitted to the ministry of the church. They must be the sons of Brahmans, of Parabbhus, or other castes reputed noble in the parts where they are to be ordained, because such men enjoy more honor, respect and esteem from other Christians as well as from gentiles; and as this province is already sufficiently provided with clergymen, and there are many Christians of the just named qualities, whose sons may be ordained, if necessary, we command that from now and henceforth neither the sons of infidels, nor such as have been baptized as adults, shall be ordained; and for the more easy and certain execution of this decree, this sacred council enjoins to the rectors of seculars or monastic seminaries, and to the regent of studies, not to permit any Christian native to study Latin unless possessing the above named qualifications; but the Christians of St. Thomé will, on account of being old Christians, all be considered nobles, and may without the least difficulty be admitted to all studies, such as Latin, cases of conscience, arts, and sacred theology when they show talents for them."

It is not strange that the councils were more or less scrupulous about those natives who were to become priests, and at this distance of time their reasons, whether good or bad, cannot be ascertained; we may, however, conclude from the proposals made in the councils above alluded to, for the establishment of a diocesan seminary to educate in Goa youths coming from a distance, that there was room for such an institution, and that the schools of the Jesuits and other monastic orders were insufficient to impart instruction; unfortunately, however, this seminary, the establishment of which had so often been mooted, never came into existence, and the only establishments of this kind where native priests obtained their training belonged not to the secular but to the monastic

clergy. As pupils of the monks who were their teachers in the seminaries, and had charge of parishes in the country, the native priests became merely the co-adjutors of their masters in these, and however fit they may have been, they never attained independent positions as parish-priests, although their highest aspirations had not soared beyond such comparatively humble spheres of activity.

The archbishop Fr. Aleixo de Menezes, who like all the metropolitan prelates desired to adhere to the letter of the canons and to remove the monks from the care of parishes and to substitute secular priests in their room was foiled in his attempt and lost all the profits which accrued to the Franciscans from Bardez. He failed not to prosecute a lively controversy on the subject, and although the morality of the Franciscans was not in their favour, the Home Government was ; which accordingly issued orders that this question should no longer be discussed, and that the parishes of Bardez must, as hitherto, remain in charge of the monks. These seraphic monks were in such favour at the Court of Portugal, that the Viceroy of India were authorised to distribute every monsoon, gifts of money to them under the title of alms for the promotion of baptisms among the gentiles, they had also to thank the monks for labouring at their conversion, and to admonish landholders to allow them freely to make proselytes. These favours, far from arresting the monks in their course of relaxation, only augmented it ; the more so as the Court of Portugal, instead of seconding the representations concerning the rights of secular priests to the care of parishes, again resuscitated by the archbishop Fr. Sebastião de S. Pedro—whose best argument was that the Christians of Bardez were badly cared for, because the monks were indolent about the language in which the people ought to be catechized—entirely disregarded them, and scarcely went further than to command that the monks ought to be examined in the Konkani language by the diocesan prelates, before assuming the charge of parishes.

The spirit of the Franciscans was, however, too proud to accept even this clause which made them subject to the prelates against whom they had shown so much independence. Profiting by the demise of the archbishop Fr. Sebastião who had been so anxious to see them under his own jurisdiction, they endeavoured to effect the revocation of the said clause in a long petition addressed to the Viceroy, Conde de Linhares, a declared enemy of the deceased bishop, in which they complained of the illtreatment they had suffered from the latter, explained the services they were rendering

to the Christians of Bardez, and enumerated the learned members of their order who heard confessions and preached in the vernacular; alleging that the native priests, whom the archbishop had intended to supplant them, inspired no respect because many of them had bored ears, and only cared to acquire property for themselves and for their relatives. These allegations were partly supported by the authoritative declarations of the Count de Linhares, but whilst they were on their way to Portugal, new orders arrived to enforce the observance of the said clause. The number of priests and monks was now so great, that the Viceroy Conde de Linhares complains in a letter dated December 1633 to the King of their being much more numerous than soldiers (*Livro das Monções No. 18, fol. 57*). Their moral character may easily be guessed from the fact that any runaway sailors and vagabonds were enrolled as monks; and at last the King prohibited this excessive increase (*Ibid, No. 17., fol. 164*).

After this the monks changed their tactics and no longer repeated any of the above allegations, but sent to Portugal bombastic accounts of the general baptisms they had promoted, of the new establishment they had founded, and how they had aided the service of the missions. The Viceroy was not now the Count de Linhares, but D. Braz de Castro, whom the Government ordered to thank the monks for the above enumeration of the just named services, if perchance he should find that they have been real. The times, however, were changed, and if the grandiloquent tales of the monks had formerly been credited, they now met with no acceptance from the King. D. Braz de Castro replying to the Government in accordance with the desires of the Inquisitors, insisted upon the retention of the vexed clause of examination, and proposed that instead of the prelates, the Inquisitors ought to be the examiners of the monks, "because" says he, "Christianity has come to be full of idolatry, as may be concluded from the great number of persons who figured in the *Auto da fé*s of the last four years; the principal cause being that in these churches the positions of vicars are usually occupied by the gravest of monks who have already served as commissary-generals, provincials, and definidores; they select these churches for their good climate and on account of the comfort in which they may spend their lives, free from the exercises of the choir and the convent; of these, there is rarely one who knows the language of the country. and they send a black man to teach the doctrine." After proposing various remedies, the Viceroy terminates his reply by asserting, that instead of being thanked, the monks ought to be blamed for their negligence, and great remissness in aiding the missions.

Taking into consideration the proposal of D. Braz de Castro, the Government desired the old command on the examinations to be enforced, and the Inquisitors of the Holy Office to conduct the same.

This royal decree applied to all the monastic orders which enjoyed the pastorate of churches ; but of the monks who manifested more or less repugnance to comply therewith, the Franciscans, who were habitually averse to obedience, proved to be the foremost by openly declaring that they would not submit to be examined by the Inquisitors. This last step they took after exhausting every artifice to evade the injunction. The contrast between their former zeal, and the negligence to which the monks afterwards fell a prey, is considerable. The churches of Bardez which were in early times administered by the monks for imparting Christian instruction to the parishioners, became houses of retirement, the doors of which were opened to old and decrepit men who wished to spend the remainder of their lives at ease, and cared very little for the people whose language they did not understand. Those who had been the fathers and indefatigable instructors of the converts, became now their taskmasters, whose scourge was lifted to chastise them whenever they showed remissness in serving, or bringing presents of fruits and other products to the friars. The permission of the Rector was indispensable to the faithful for every act of their lives, on pain of being persecuted by quarrels and other means of vexation, instigated by the monks through their minions, so that the people preferred to satisfy all their exactions, rather than to expose themselves to violence. Not even the dead could escape these extortions. The dead body of even the poorest man could not be conveyed to its last place of rest, without depositing with the syndic the costs of the funeral and the accompanying alms, because when these conditions failed to be complied with, the monks had no hesitation in saying derisively that such corpses ought to be salted and preserved.

The revenues of the college Dos Reis Magos, which the Government had provided for the sustentation of orphans, were spent for the support of its servants and favourites. Its students, and they were but few, had to beg their daily bread from liberal men. Of the donations which they received for general baptisms, the monks scarcely spent a third as they made but few proselytes, leaving two parts untouched, saying that "they were to contribute in Rome to what costs them to be prelates of this province." The facility with which papal Briefs could be obtained for money from Rome in favour of the corporations best able to afford to purchase them, contributed much to the relaxation of discipline and to the insubordination of the monks who thus

eluded the jurisdiction of the King of Portugal and of the ordinary prelates. The Franciscans laid aside the mantle of evangelical humility; abnegation and poverty; they not only insisted on receiving ample payment for every religious act performed by them, and thus displayed their worldly covetousness, but more than once had in the election of their superiors contests and hot brawls among themselves, which the Government itself was scarcely able to appease. Criminals who had escaped from the hands of justice, sometimes found an asylum in a convent, and the friars refused to give them up. Their degradation was so deplorable, that some monks amused themselves in public with dancing-girls, whilst others took them into their houses to the sore scandal of Christians. When these excesses were reported by the Indian Government to the home authorities, orders arrived that such priests should be expelled from Goa unless they mended their ways.

Dissolution, however, progressed still further. The friars who were the parish-priests of Bardez extorted by every means all they could from the people, for the purpose of enriching their own favourites whose protectors they had become, whose houses they frequented day and night; whom and whose wives they accompanied to weddings, whom they considered as their own sons and entertained in their parochial manses, for whom they even selected wives according to their own choice, and became the godfathers of their children. These and similar occupations unworthy of priests so displeased the people of Bardez, that they at last petitioned the Government for the expulsion of the Franciscans. These wishes of the people the bishop Ignacio de Santa Tereza, disgusted by the libertinage of the monks, and foiled in his attempts to bring them under his own jurisdiction, seconded with all his might, and, as the influence of the Franciscans at the Court of Portugal which was formerly great, had ceased, a decree for the expulsion of the friars was obtained, but the haste and high-handedness of the bishop in endeavouring to execute it were so great, that they gave rise to disturbances; and to prevent yet greater ones, it became necessary to suspend all action in the matter. For all that, however, not only the Viceroy but even the Government of Portugal saw the necessity of restraining the corruption of the monks in some way, and orders were issued that none of them should be appointed parish-priests under the age of forty years, and less than fifteen after their ordination, but their Provincial declared that his order did not contain a sufficient number of them, possessing these qualities.

The number of missionaries from Italy, between the years 1640 and 1750, consisted of fifty-six priests and three novices, twenty-three

of whom reached Portuguese India, and of these thirteen died labouring as missionaries; but the rest returned to Europe. Foreigners having become rare, the prefect Carlos José Fidelis, who was the last Italian, obtained from his superior the license to admit natives of India to holy orders, with the permission of the king D. José and with the clause that they should be subject to the Father General in spiritual matters only. The license was in 1750 limited only to four, but was gradually extended to twenty of the caste of Brahmins.

The congregation of the oratory was indebted for its establishment to Padre Pascoal da Costa Jeremias and other priests of Margão, who, induced by their love for solitude, took up their abode in 1682 in the retreat of St. John of the desert, and dedicated themselves to an entirely ascetic life, until the venerable father José Vaz, having been nominated prefect of this congregation, introduced in it the statutes of the oratory of Lisbon, which were confirmed by the Apostolic See.

The Carmelites João Baptista Falcão and Francisco Xavier dos Anjos introduced their order in the Goa territory in 1750 by establishing themselves in a hermitage at Chimbal, and obtaining a license to live in a community with more companions. Fr. Nicolan de Jesus Maria, who had assisted in the establishment of this society, not being able to prolong his sojourn at Goa to celebrate the profession of his companions, delegated his powers to the archbishop D. Fr. Lourenço de Santa Maria, who gave to the companions of Fr. Nicolan the habit, and the dispensation from the noviciate. The archbishop D. Antonio Teixeira de Neiva Brun confirmed this society which had already enjoyed much protection from the Government, and another archbishop, D. Fr. Manuel de Santa Catharina, rescued it from decay by presenting it with new estates.

The demoralisation which had infected the Jesuits, the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Augustinians, and the friars of S. João de Deos did not touch the Theatines, the Carmelites and the congregationalists. It cannot be said that the purity of life, and the severity of the rules had even in these convents remained intact, but there is no doubt that morality was always respected, on account of certain precepts of the founders which were utterly disregarded in other monasteries.

The Jesuits insisted that the severe old rules on forcible proselytism should remain in full force, they considered all who were of a contrary opinion as enemies to the faith, and invoked the vengeance of heaven upon them; and they held that those rules could be merely so far as modified as to allow the priests to take possession of such children only as had neither parents nor protectors of any kind, and

to baptize them. The Government of Portugal was happily no longer under the thumb of the Inquisition as during the reign of João III, of Sebastião and of Cardinal Henrique, and did not persevere in intolerance, so that when Pedro d'Almeida was in 1677 sent as Viceroy to India, the severe law on fatherless children was, by the advice of men experienced in public affairs, mitigated. For this and for other measures taken by the Government, the Jesuit Fr. Francisco de Sousa asserts, in his *Oriente Conquistado*, which he wrote 22 years afterwards, that not only Pedro d'Almeida, but all who contributed to the suppression of the provisions concerning the baptisms of fatherless children, had been punished by the hand of God, because commerce had gained nothing in consequence, and none of the expected advantages were realised.

The influence of the Jesuits was so great in 1694, that in a letter of the Viceroy, dated the 27th October, he informed the king, that they are indispensable to the progress of the faith in the island of Salsete, and that among a hundred native clergymen scarcely two were fit to be entrusted with the administration of a parish. This is the reason why the native clergy had for so long a time remained excluded from pastoral charges, which they obtained in Salsete and in the villages of the islands about Goa only after the generous sway of the Marquis of Pombal, Prime Minister of Portugal had been inaugurated and the Jesuits were exiled.

It will perhaps not be out of place here to insert eight brief notices, mostly relating to letters written by the king to Manoel de Saldanha d'Albuquerque conde de Ega who was Viceroy of India from 1756 till 1765, concerning the expulsion of the Jesuits * :—

1. Royal letter, dated 29th March 1758, ordering the Jesuits not to be allowed to enter the palace of Goa, to be excluded from the royal service and from secular employments; not to engage in commerce, and that those who disobey this order should be deported to Portugal (*Livro das Monções*, No. 131, fol. 242).

2. Royal letter, dated 27th March 1759, commanding a general sequestration of all the moveable and immoveable property of the Jesuits to be made, and an inventory thereof to be drawn up; the Jesuits are to be incarcerated, and each of them is to receive two xerafins daily for his food (*Ibid.* No. 132, fol. 271). The Viceroy replies in a letter dated 20th January 1760 (*Ibid.*, fol. 274), and states that he has executed the orders of the royal letter. In another letter of the 21st January of the same year the Viceroy states that the incarceration of the Jesuits and the sequestration

of their property had been accomplished on the 13th August preceding (*Ibid.*, fol. 251).

3. Royal letter, dated 26th March 1759, commanding that from the money realised by the sale of the property of the Jesuits, the Comptroller-General of the Department of Revenue is to make payment to the clerics of the congregation of the oratory at Goa, on account for the capital and the interest of the monies they had lent for the extraordinary expenses of the Estate, marking in the debit ledgers of the Jesuits the sums due to them likewise, but suspending their payment until His Majesty should order the contrary—(*Ibid.*, fol. 277.)

4. Royal letter of the same date, relating to the instructions of the 31st March 1758, commanding that after the incarceration of the Jesuits, the churches administered by them are to be given in charge of secular or regular priests, (*i.e.*, monks) after consulting the archbishop Primate on this subject (*Ibid.*, fol. 279). Reply of the Viceroy, dated 22nd January 1760, stating that he had sent other priests of this estate to take charge of the missions occupied by the Jesuits and mentioning the resistance made against the admission of the new missionaries by the archbishop of Serra and the vicar of Calicut, both of whom were Jesuits (*Ibid.*, fol. 514). The archbishop of Serra and the bishop of Cochin were declared denationalized, and proscribed by a royal letter, dated April 7th, 1761—(*Ibid.*, No. 134, fol. 74.)

5. Instructions of the 26th March 1759, relating to the observance of the above quoted orders, and to documents which no longer exist—(*Ibid.*, fol. 357.)

6. Royal letter of the 1st April 1760 : Resolution concerning the expulsion of the Jesuits from India, the manner in which it is to take place, and various other instructions concerning their property (*Ibid.* No. 133, fol. 154). Reply of the Viceroy, dated the 12th December of the same year, declaring that the orders of His Majesty have been executed, and that the Jesuits have been incarcerated in the College of S. Roque—(*Ibid.*, fol. 155.)

7. Royal letter of the same date : Resolution that those who might disapprove of the orders issued against the Jesuits, or instigate the people to disturbances, should be prosecuted by law (*Ibid.*, fol. 158). Reply of the Viceroy, dated the 6th December 1760, declaring that the orders have been duly carried out, but that up to the date when the letter was written, no act whatever had occurred to make the obedience of the faithful and loyal vassals of His Majesty doubtful—(*Ibid.*, fol. 159.)

8. Document of the Viceroy, dated 19th December 1760, attesting that one hundred twenty-seven fathers and brothers of the Society of Jesus, were kept prisoners in the new College of

St. Paul, in Goa, had been embarked for Portugal on board the ship "N. Sra da Conceição e S. Vincente Ferreira" commanded by captain Carneiro de Alcaçova—(*Ibid.*, fol. 387.)

Thus the Jesuits were expelled, the enlightened ministry of king José desired to emancipate the Christians of Portuguese India, and would no longer consent that native priests should be reputed incapable to be put in charge of parishes. Also the native clergy sent numerous petitions to Portugal, stating that their number amounted in the island of Goa and in the provinces of Salsete and Bardez to more than ten thousand, most of whom were literary men, good preachers and theologians, but ignominiously excluded from the charge of parishes, all of which had been given to Europeans. The Marquis de Pombal, Prime Minister of the King, taking into account these considerations, instructed the archbishop in a letter in 1774, that native priests ought to be appointed to the care of parishes as well as Europeans, and that when all claims of the applicants happen to be equal, the former must be preferred to the latter; also, that monks ought to have the care of churches only when secular priests cannot be found in sufficient numbers.

It is remarkable that a letter of instructions of the Marquis de Pombal to the archbishop of Goa D. Francisco de Assumpção e Brito bears the same date with the royal letter in which the abolition of the Holy Inquisition was decreed.* This letter, which consists of eighteen paragraphs and throws considerable light on the state of the clergy, is appended to the "Fifth Instruction" which we print in italics to imitate the original also in this respect :—

FIFTH INSTRUCTION.

Extirpation of all the books of casuistry and of corrupt morality by adequate means of publishing the edicts of the Royal Board of Censors; by diligent examination of the libraries of the secular and regular clergy; by sending to Portugal such books in which those pernicious doctrines may be found to be existing in India; and by the introduction of other useful books from which those pernicious doctrines, which in fact all the Estates of the inhabitants of Portuguese Asia like a plague, have been expurgated.

1. In order that your Excellency may conceive a clear idea of the urgent necessity for pulling out from the archbishopric of Goa the deep roots of inveterate and most pernicious abuses, it will suffice to consider the characters and proceedings of the

* See *Calcutta Review* Number CXLIV. 1881, p. 349 *supra*.

three last prelates who governed it, or who already before succeeded in perverting that unhappy capital [of Portuguese India] even more than the so-called Jesuits had perverted it.

2. The first of them was D. Ignacio de Santa Theresa of the congregation of the canons of the order of St. Augustin. The character he manifested during his incumbency showed him to be a real hypocrite, a decided fanatic and a haughty imitator of the Jesuits in pride, in arrogance, and in the ambition of subjecting the whole temporal Estate of India, and all the regulars [i.e., monks] of it, to his ordinary jurisdiction. He infected and perverted with those vices the communities of both sexes [male and female convents]; by disturbances and scandals which have disquieted this Court and its tribunals. He put superstition in the place of religion. He dispensed with the observance of the decalogue to such a degree, that the transgressions of the sixth and seventh commandments were cloaked with the appearances of virtue, according to which a devout tone of speaking was assumed, the head drooped, and God with the saints invoked.*

3. When the wretched condition in which the said archbishop had left the pastors and the flocks of the capital [of Portuguese India], required a successor of great discernment and sound doctrine, endowed with an apostolic spirit and a strength of mind, capable of uprooting so many venomous herbs, and so many briars from the vineyard of the Lord, Frei Lourenço de Santa Maria, a simple virtuous and good prelate but an inefficient pastor, was promoted to the said bishopric; all his literary attainments amounted to what he had acquired at the seminary of Varatojo, where, as every body knows, the studies consist of the *Christian awakener*, of the *Difference between the temporal and*

* *Gracias* in his *A imprensa em Goa* gives the following foot-note to p. 74, concerning the above archbishop, taken from the *Entre Palmeiras*, p. 22 of Thomas Ribeiro:—

“What shall we say of the archbishop D. Ignacio? It will suffice to add that he was a real pestilence to Eastern Christianity, and the greatest stumbling-block during the government of the Viceroy Francisco José de Sampaio e Castro. Salsete still remembers and will never forget the price of his visits:—Devotional tracts, exactions on simple denunciations, arbitrary imprisonings, major excommunications abruptly incurred, mulcts inflicted upon married women which they paid and were stigmatised

with undeserved dishonour; most profane comedies and ballets of dancing-girls with which that scrupulous and virtuous primate beguiled his time; lastly, the sounds of his guitar with which he embarked on bright moon-lit nights, and embellished the languid harmonies of his oriental serenades on the pellucid waters of Rachol.

“Who desires to know the deplorable character of this pastor, may peruse a memoir written by my illustrious predecessor the councillor Cunha Rivara, published in the collection of the *Bulletins of the government of 1861*.”—(Bol, Nov, 32-66).

eternal of the *Book of rare cases* for the sermons of missions and of a *Bucseman* for deciding by it all the cases of conscience that present themselves in the confessional, according to the pestilential and most wicked morality of the casuists who have given birth to that pernicious book.*

4. Accordingly this archbishop, instead of reforming his diocese, allowed it freely to continue in all the abuses prevailing therein; because his want of scientific knowledge, his extreme credulity, and his great indolence of temperament having immediately been discovered by the ecclesiastic ministers, the canons of the chapter, the parish-priests, as well as by all the other secular and monastic clergy, they boldly persevered in the disorder and abuses hitherto practised by them seeing that there was nobody who could coerce them.

5. The just named two prelates were succeeded by the archbishop Dom Antonio Taveira who was but little different from his predecessor.†

6. As to his literary attainments he was considered to be a doctor of repute in the University of Coimbra, when, even most of the lecturers who occupied the best chairs were mere servile decretalists without a single canonist, nor any one possessing an idea of natural ethics or revealed morality; at a time when reasoning was discarded and nothing known except humble submission to authority; when the study of history, geography and chronology was totally ignored, no knowledge of divine, or natural right or of the right of nations was cultivated, whilst theology and canonical jurisprudence consisted mostly of sophistical arguments. In this manner a doctor or lecturer, who issued from the university brought nothing that might be useful in practice either to the Government or to the Church of God, and just as little to the decisions of the ecclesiastic court of justice.

7. As to his personal character, it appeared soon from many facts, that the said prelate was simple, virtuous, a good ecclesiastic but an inefficient pastor; so that if the same qualities which constitute a good priest, were sufficient to make a good metropolitan, nothing could be said against this prelate.

8. But considering his want of intellect, his inertia, his remissness as archbishop and Governor, he not only failed to correct in any way whatever the abuses and disorders which his two next

* D. Fr. Lourenço de S. Maria arrived in Goa on the 19th September 1744, governed till September 1750, and returned the next year to Lisbon. He belonged to the order

of minor friars of Varatojo.

† He arrived in Goa on the 23rd September 1750, and governed the archdiocese till 1775.

predecessors had overlooked and allowed to continue, but contributed by his culpable neglect to the ruin and decay into which the Church and the Estate of India have fallen ; so that the king, my master, has clearly perceived that this calamity cannot be remedied, except by the abolition of all the laws, regulations and usages hitherto practised, and reforming the said estate by means of the provident laws, regulations and commands herewith sent ; and his majesty has in the persons of your excellency and of the governor and captain-general D. José Pedro da Camara, constituted the two poles of the solid establishment of that new, and, by the blessing of God, resuscitated India.

9. The above mentioned being the infirmities which your excellency will have to deal with, and to cure radically, his majesty hopes that you will apply the remedies with all meekness, prudence, activity and constancy in the following manner.

10. First of all, and before everything else, your excellency will by means of the edicts of the Royal Board of Censors have to ascertain whether some of the secular or regular clergy yet retain books of corrupted and reprov'd morality, that they may be compelled to surrender them. Should there be any recalcitrant regulars [monks], your excellency will have to inform the governor and captain-general, that he may forthwith deport them to this court, in order to answer for their recalcitrancy.

11. In the second place, your excellency must provide all the parish-priests and confessors of your archbishopric, with the catechisms of Montpellier, which the most eminent and most reverend Cardinal da Cunha has caused to be translated for his archbishopric of Evora ; namely, the great catechism for the instruction of confessors, and the small one for that of parishoners of every age. Your excellency will have to verify whether all the said parish-priests and confessors really possess those catechisms and study them, obliging them on pain of suspension to purchase these books in case they should not possess them, and declaring to all that they will have to be examined in those catechisms at the end of one year, which your excellency will allow for studying them ; whereon those who shall remain ignorant of them will be removed from the care of churches and suspended from the jurisdiction of confessing. The sordid avarice of many of the said priests will induce them to keep only one book and to lend it to each other, wherefore they are to be compelled to show it ; each book with its owner's name on the title-page, so that it cannot be altered.

12. Thirdly, your excellency must likewise compel the said priests to purchase the two small volumes entitled *Inected forigin of Jesuitical morality and doctrines of the Church offended*

thereby declaring that they will likewise have to be examined in the contents, and using the above named caution concerning the signatures on the title-pages.

13. Fourthly, it is necessary that your excellency should first, by advice, and if that does not suffice, by compulsion, induce all parish-priests to possess and to read the "Chronological Deductions" with their proofs, and the "Historical compendium of the schism of sigillism" [something about the seal of secrecy in confession?] which contains the only truthful and authentic history of Portugal during the last two centuries; the rights of the public; of the Church and of the realm; the duties of subjects towards their sovereigns; the uses and abuses of excommunications which are ecclesiastical weapons, and lastly, whatever is necessary for maintaining the public peace between the clergy and the laity, between kings and vassals, and between the vassals themselves, so that each of them may know what is due to the others and may live with them in the same society and in Christian union. It may be added, that the octavo edition of the said books is the most commodious, the cheapest, and most easily purchased.

14. Fifthly your excellency is in the same manner to propagate the collections of Laws against hypocrisy and bigotry (Jacobea); the good moral books of the "Instructed parish-priest," the Papal Bulls on the extinction of the so-called Jesuits, and the little book entitled "Collection of prayers for the people who do not possess high instruction."

15. The light which the above named solid books will spread after the extirpation of other pernicious and abominable ones, will become in India one of the most efficacious remedies by means of which the diseased sheep of that infirm metropolis can be cured. Those same remedies will be the more effective in proportion to the dexterity and suavity with which your excellency will apply them, by preferring, as far as possible, suggestions with zealous and charitable persuasion to the rigour of co-action.

16. In cases, however, when the said measures of prudence and suavity prove ineffectual, it will become necessary to make use of the Court of Justice. And if opposition be offered to ecclesiastic justice which neither inflicts blows with sticks nor with swords that shed blood, your excellency must have recourse to the governor and captain-general, and will obtain from him every necessary assistance, according to the command of his majesty.

17. In addition to the points already referred to above, it will be very important that on occasions, on which the canons of your chapter, and the parish-priests of your jurisdiction, come to speak to you on other affairs, your excellency should, in your conversations, explain to them that the essential cause of the decay which

has latterly befallen India must be attributed to the misunderstandings and ignorance prevalent concerning the importance of the Royal Laws, of the observance whereof they are to be reminded :—

Firstly :—What thing a published general law is, to which from the hour of its publication the people are to attribute the epithets of *holy, and holiest, and of sacred, and most sacred.*

Secondly :—That the said laws are the columns by which monarchies are supported, so that they fall to the ground ruined, the very moment vassals are permitted to shake the firmness of the said columns by their arguments.

18. All this being managed by the lights, by the dexterity, by the prudence and by the zeal of your excellency; the king, my master, entertains the hope that public tranquillity and Christian unity will be re-established and perpetuated in the archbishopric of Goa.

Given in the palace of Nossa Senhora da Ajuda [our Lady of help], on the 10th of February 1744.—[Signed] *Marquez de Pombal.*

The expulsion and deportation of the Jesuits, the gradual diminution of the European clergy by the cessation of new arrivals and the representations of the native priests to the Court of Portugal, at last produced the effect that the whole ecclesiastical administration was entrusted to the sons of the soil. This was no doubt a great success, but the number of native priests being astonishingly large, all of them could not have obtained parishes, even if the whole of the Goa territory had been Christian, hence they were obliged to confine their ministrations to a comparatively smaller sphere of action, in which, however, their spiritual influence so powerfully aided their exertions in temporal affairs, that their income was larger than that of the other two learned professions, the only ones which flourish in Portuguese India,* namely, Law and Medicine. In comparison with priests, lawyers and doctors were rather poor, because the fees exacted and presents obtained by clergymen were considerably in excess of what was really due to them. For this reason the archbishop Fr. Manuel de S. Galdino found himself under the necessity of repressing the rapacity of the native clergy by fixing a tax for all their ceremonies and suppressing their extortions. He prohibited clergymen from delaying weddings, interments, or repelling persons from the confessional, because they had not paid their fees in advance; from acting as usurers by taking pledges, or oppressing the people in any way.

The following letter addressed to the King of Portugal by the abovenamed bishop Fr. Manuel de S. Galdino, 1805, expresses

his views on the monks, although he was himself proud to be a Franciscan, and can, therefore, perhaps, not be considered to have been an enemy of the order:—

“Sire,—As your majesty has entrusted me with the care of governing the principal Church of Asia, to which all others that have no bishops are subject, it happens to be my duty to explain to your majesty the general condition in which they are, especially that of Macao, which I am still governing and persuade myself to be well acquainted with, requesting the orders of your majesty for them all.

“When the Portuguese conquered India, they likewise at once founded numerous convents of monks, that conquests for the religion might also be made. This could not fail to be very useful even to the estate, since the Christian religion alone is capable of making subjects docile, and of attaching them heartily to their sovereigns; and such was in reality the case when monks, accustomed to bridle their passions were first despatched to India. As soon, however, as the provinces [ecclesiastic authorities] of the kingdom began to send only men whom they could not suffer at home, or some recruit-boys without talents, without education, and what is worse, without manners, and such as they did not wish to remain in the convents of Europe, and friars came to India who ought rather to have become soldiers, monastic institutions decayed, became relaxed, and were of but little utility. Missions entrusted to men of so little capacity languished, decayed, and with them also the love of the Christian religion and the Portuguese nation, whereby a loss, not easily calculated, was entailed upon the estate also.

“At first it was necessary to entrust missions to friars on account of their probity, as well as on account of the unfitness of native priests—if there were any—for great things. Each order of monks had a separate district assigned to it as a mission for the purpose of avoiding the intrigues which arose from the comingling of friars of different societies in one district; wherefore each monastic order called the district, in which it was established, its own. The bishops, content with the progress at first made, and unwilling to enter into contests, remained quiet, disputed not the titles under which the gifts bestowed on those missions were claimed, and these became a prerogative of the monks; a right of possession which they were intent upon conserving for ever, and also did against the will of the later bishops, who had no power to contest it because they were alone, and in such matters, all the friars made common cause. In order to conserve this right of possession, it was necessary to prove that there were monks in

each district, but as none, not even incapable ones, joined them from Europe, they searched the ships which arrived, and accepted not only some boys serving on board but also soldiers of the garrison, and some even who had been disgraced. In spite of this indiscriminate selection the monks are not sufficiently numerous, and the greater portion of the missions, the occupancy whereof they must prove, are so little occupied, that I may without exaggeration say that they are deserted.

"The provinces [ecclesiastic authorities] of Goa, imitating those of Europe, likewise refrain from sending priests, except such as they desire to get rid of, especially to distant missions, or to such as are in less healthy countries. Timor, for instance, which is the place of banishment for disgraced priests from Goa, has become such also for the monks of the order of St. Dominic, but with the difference that these disgraced persons are there missionaries and parish-priests. What parish-priests and what missionaries? The least evil they are doing there is to engage in commerce. I was witness how a padre, who was in the same ship with me, ordered, as soon as he disembarked, various commissions for sandal-wood on his own account.

"The archbishop has not priests in sufficient numbers to occupy these missions, but he cannot send even those he has, because these missions are considered to belong to monks; if he were to select the most capable of these and to attempt to send them on his own authority, he would not only be disobeyed, but accused of abuse of power; they would forthwith allege that they are exempted, that their privileges are being infringed, &c.; so that those very exemptions and privileges which the supreme pontiffs had granted them only for the better service of the Church, are at present the cause especially in Asia, that the missions are not served; and that the very thing is lost, which costed the Church so much trouble to acquire.

"I glory, sire, to be a monk, and am very proud of my cowl, and of the corporation to which I have the honour to belong, but for this very reason I make bold to assure your majesty, that in Asia no monks ought to be exempted, at least so far, that for the good government of the churches your majesty ought to intrust the bishop to send to any mission whatever, no matter to whom it may belong, such individuals as they deem fit, be they secular or monastic priests, without suffering any opposition from the Provincials, except in cases immediately injurious to the economical government of convents.

"So far from being opposed to monks am I, that I beseech your majesty for the love of God, to send for these bishoprics bishops

taken from among those monastic orders who claim them, that is to say, a Dominican for the bishopric of Malacca, an Augustinian for the bishopric of Meliapor, and another for the Archbishopric of Cranganore. For Cochin which at present belongs to no special corporation, your majesty may select any one, but the Provincials ought to attach at least four monks to each bishop of the same corporation to accompany him, else the poor will have no aid whatever. If your majesty does not desire to send bishops, at least, well tried friars who are men of capacity may be despatched. I know that the Provincials have reasons for not wishing to send such men, because they are very useful at home also; but, sire, as a good priest is most useful everywhere, and is always missed in the place which he leaves, the Provincials ought to keep the greater necessity of the Church and of the estate in view, and ought to send to India at least serious men....

"In a word, sire, I beseech your majesty earnestly to order padres of probity to come, else these missions will be totally lost, and after them, these colonies.

"At all events, it is indispensable and absolutely necessary that your majesty should send two padres, if not more can be had, of the congregation of the mission vulgarly called *Rithafolles*, to take charge of at least one seminary in Goa, because experience has shown that the priests educated by members of this congregation when they were at Goa, are totally different from others; by this means alone, a respectable secular clergy can be created, because the members of this congregation possess experience in teaching, of which those of others, however virtuous and learned they may be, are void. I know that these padres will allege many excuses, but I request your majesty to consider that even by doing little in Asia, they will be much more useful to the religion and to the estate than by working in Europe much, and with good success, and I beseech your majesty for the love of God and in the name of the Church, so send me, for certain, two, &c."

We have already observed above that the Theatines, the Carmelites and Congregationists had not fallen into the relaxation of which other monks adverted to in the above letter had become a prey; but it cannot be denied that they were the first pioneers of Christianity in the Indo-Portuguese estates. They all, however, disappeared gradually, and when the order of Jesuits was abolished, the native clergy was more largely employed, and those who reproach it with want of energy in their vocation, ought at least to consider that they have never fallen into the degradation of morals of which the energetic Franciscans gave so many proofs. As civilization advances, the influence of priests in secular matters.

decreases, and even in Goa they are no longer considered as the oracles of God, to be consulted in all matters and implicitly obeyed, but enjoy nevertheless much respect among the people as spiritual advisers and religious guides.

The native clergy of the Indo-Portuguese estate, could never boast of much worldly learning, but they were at all times moral. Considerations of a future life which were ever before their eyes even in their religious ministrations of visiting the sick and preparing them for a better world, as well as in the solemn services for the dead, no doubt, also greatly influenced their conduct. The disabilities under which native clergymen laboured till the middle of the 17th century, when they were debarred from performing some of the most important sacerdotal functions, such as preaching, hearing confession, and administering the sacraments, have long ago been removed, and they have the sole charges of parishes with all the duties and privileges connected with them. It was nevertheless necessary, in a provincial council over which the archbishop Fr. Manuel de Santa Catharina presided and José Cariate the archbishop of Cranganore as well as Fr. José de Soledade the bishop of Cochin assisted, together with the chapter of canons, to frame certain rules for the native clergy, such as, that they should wear the costume prescribed for them, and never carry weapons; they were forbidden to walk about in the night after the curfew-bell, to eat and drink in taverns, to go to shops, and to drink wine to excess; to be present at the performances of comedies, dances, and masquerades; to play at forbidden games, or allow them to be played in their houses; to become lawyers, physicians, or tradesmen; to allow women of suspicious character, or slave-girls, to enter their houses; to permit the son or grandson of a priest to serve his father or grandfather when he celebrates mass; to keep illegitimate sons in their houses, &c. The archbishop Fr. Manuel de S. Galdino added to the above also the injunction that no man should be admitted to the minor nor to the major orders without producing documental evidence of his good moral conduct and of his vocation to the priesthood, "even if he should be as wise as Solomon." He forbade priests to walk about barefoot, to use blue or red stockings, boots, round hats, or robes with rose-coloured lining; to hunt, to gamble, to be present at banquets, to frequent secular amusements, to practice as advocates, to take charge of money for secular purposes, &c.; this Prelate decreed also numerous other instructions concerning the confessional and the pulpit, some of which fell into disuse, while others still survive.

The following tabular statement which we take from Fonseca's "*Historical and archæological sketch of the city of Goa, &c.*"

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framed in 1804 by order of Government, shows the number of convents then existing, with their inmates and their respective funds :—

RELIGIOUS ORDER.	Number of Convents	Number of Inmates.	Capital.			Income.		
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Franciscans (Observantines) ...	3	63	3,649	15	0	598	14	10½
Reformed Franciscans ...	7	72	4,325	13	5½	281	7	4
Dominicans ...	10	61	29,929	6	11½	1,692	6	2½
Augustinians ...	9	79	21,971	4	2	1,362	19	5½
Carmelites ...	1	28	6,018	6	8	292	0	2½
Theatines ...	1	13	3,399	4	2½	144	4	1½
Members of the order of St. John of God ...	4	30	2,595	0	10	373	2	6
Oratorians ...	2	61	13,420	4	11½	663	13	10½
Nuns of St. Monica ...	1	61	11,070	0	0	568	7	4
TOTAL ...	38	468	96,378	16	23½	5,876	15	11

The tribunal of the inquisition having been abolished in 1814 by a royal decree of the 21st of May, the same fate overtook the religious orders in 1835. The convents and other buildings belonging to these orders were consequently abandoned, and their property, both moveable and immoveable of the aggregate value of £122,566-4-0, was appropriated by the Government. The number of friars who were turned out of their monasteries, and who received a moderate pension from the State, was 248, *viz.* :—Franciscans (Observantines) 27, Reformed 31, Dominicans 41, Augustinians 59, Theatines 16, members of the order of St. John of God 15, those of the order of St. Philip of Neri 36, and Carmelities 23. Their extensive missions were transferred to secular clergy, while some of the parishes comprised in them, had already been occupied by the missionaries of the congregation *De Propaganda Fide*. According to the concordat of the 21st February 1857 made by the Holy See with the King of Portugal, the ancient right of patronage of the Portuguese sovereigns was restricted to the metropolitan archbishopric of Goa, the archbishopric of Cranganore, the bishoprics of Cochin, Meliapur, Malacca, and Macao. At present besides the archbishop of Goa there are two suffragan prelates, *viz.*, the bishop of Macao and the prelates of Mozambique. No other suffragan bishops have of late been appointed in the other dioceses, which, together with the other missions, are under the direction of vicars-general appointed by the archbishop.

According to the Government Budget of 1873-74 the State

contributed towards the maintenance of 110 missionaries the sum of £2,145-16-8. The annual salary of the archbishop is £666-13-4, of the dean of the Cathedral £55-11-1½, of each of the four chief dignitaries £33-6-8, of each canon £27-15-6. The total expenditure of the ecclesiastical establishments in the above year was £4,955-14-0.

The majority of the present population of the Goa territory profess the Roman Catholic religion. They are divided into ninety-three parishes, having many churches, the chief being the cathedral called *Se primacial de Goa*. These churches are under the care of secular priests, all of whom are natives.*

E. REHATSEK.

* *Fonseca opere laudato*, pp. 70-71.

ART. XI.—THE LANGUAGE QUESTION IN THE PANJAB.

THE medium of primary instruction in the Panjab has hitherto been Urdu. This is now objected to, and very reasonably, by the Hindus and the Sikhs. The *Anjuman-i-Panjab*, as stated by Dr. Leitner in his evidence before the Education Commission, has recommended that the medium of popular education should be "Urdu for the Muhammadans and for the Amla class in the Perso-Arabic character; Hindi in the Devanagari character for the children of Pandits, Khattris and Aroras, especially in the districts where it is the real vernacular, and Panjabi in the Gurmukhi character for the Sikhs." Others contend that Hindi should be the universal medium for all Hindus, as Urdu for all Muhammadans. There is another and a very plausible proposal in the field, of which the chief exponent is Sardar Gurdayal Singh, doubtless a Sikh. The proposal is, that Panjabi in the Persian character for Muhammadans, in the Devanagari character for Hindus and in the Gurmukhi character for Sikhs should be the vehicle of popular education. A short critical examination of this view is the object of this paper. From the ability and judgment represented by the President and members of the Commission, it is not likely that any but the wisest course would be adopted, but as the Sardar's proposal has a great air of plausibility about it, a critical examination of it would be, it seems, not a thing amiss.

We may take it for granted that, in the face of the evidence before the Commission, the general feeling of the Hindus and the Sikhs on the subject, and the recommendation of the *Anjuman* itself, Urdu cannot continue to be the universal medium of popular instruction in the Panjab. Without arguing the question at length, we shall here only briefly indicate what we think would be the best course from the point of view of the country's greatest good, present and prospective. We humbly think that the Urdu phase of Hindustani for Muhammadans (Pathans excepted), the Hindi phase of Hindustani for Hindus universally, Gurmukhi Panjabi for Sikhs, and Paçto for the Pathans of the Peshawar valley, would be the most suitable media of popular education in the Panjab. The Hindus and the Sikhs culture-language must naturally be Sanskrit, as Persian and Arabic must be of Muhammadans; and in a course of popular instruction, as the initial step to high culture for those who may ultimately reach it, this fact should not be lost sight of. Hindi and Gurmukhi Panjabi would lead up to Sanskrit, as Urdu or

Pact would lead up to Persian and Arabic, at the same time that each vernacular would supply to a distinct section of the population the medium that would be presently most convenient for it. Hindi, besides, would be a preparation for Urdu to such Hindus as should have to acquire the latter as a means of livelihood. Urdu from the beginning, and no Hindi, for the Hindu Amla class would tend to isolate this class from the rest of their co-religionists. Covenanted Civilian are required to know Hindustani in both its phases, and ultimately, it seems, the equitableness will be recognised of requiring the same kind of knowledge of Hindustani even from the Amla; as in Bengal, it is to be hoped, a systematic knowledge of Musalmāni Bengali, whose existence is now hardly recognised by the State, may eventually be demanded of judicial and executive officers and the Amla.

As regards the question of Urdu *vs.* Hindi, in respect of the Hindus, Pandit Bhagwandas of Lahore struck the key-note to the whole situation when he stated in his evidence, that the Hindus do not like to teach Urdu to their 'women and girls.' Babu Mathuraprasad Misr, in the preface to his *Trilingual Dictionary* (p. 6) speaks to the same effect. He says, that Hindu gentlemen who 'in the public hall of audience speak 'elegant Urdu,' speak Hindi in their family circles for, says he, 'our mothers and sisters, our wives and daughters, exchange ideas only in genuine forms of Hindi.' Urdu to the Hindu is only an out-door language. He drops it at home for Hindi, which in respect of the common affairs of life does not, by the way, differ so widely from Urdu as in books, or in the mouths of the learned. Dr. Leitner's statement that Urdu is the language of the 'best Hindus' is to be taken with a considerable qualification. The repositories of the highest Hindu culture—the Pandit class—have never spoken Urdu. Hindustani in the Pandit's mouth must become Hindi as naturally as in the Maulvi's it becomes Urdu. Hindu secular education under the Muhammadan regime was at so low an ebb as to comprise only a knowledge of some form of the Nagri character, letter-writing and accounts. All the higher secular education of Hindus come through Persian, and so the language of Hindus thus educated came to be Urdu. Hindus so educated have never been held, however, in esteem as much, among the Hindu community, as Brahmans learned in Sanskrit. The present Hindi movement is therefore a natural movement. The Hindu's allegiance to Persian is sure to be transferred to English, which has already become the 'gentleman's language' among the Hindus of Bengal to the exclusion of Persian, and will in no long time become so in Upper India. The supremacy of Urdu over Hindus cannot, therefore, remain the same as it has hitherto been.

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The proposal for the extension of Panjabi over the province, as the medium of popular instruction, means practically the extension of Sikh or Gurmukhi Panjabi. The political importance of the Sikh community, and the cultivation that Sikh Panjabi has already received would render its supersession by any other Panjabi dialect simply impossible. If one Panjabi dialect is to be enforced in all the primary schools in the Panjab, it must be the Sikh dialect. Such a course would be liable to all the objections urged by the present writer in the last No. of this *Review* against Mr. Grier-son's proposal in respect of Behar, and to it he must beg to refer the reader. Something would be gained if the Multan* peasant, for instance, gave up his *patois* for Urdu or Hindi, which would bring him into mental and industrial communion with the vast population from the Indus to Rajmahal; but what would he gain by giving up one *patois* for another? An imposition of Sikh Panjabi (albeit in the Persian character) over the Muhammadan masses of the Panjab would create discontent among the entire body of Panjabi Muhammadans, and such discontent no wise Government can ever think of courting. Urdu is, and must continue to be, the language of the better class Muhammadans in the Panjab, and the lower class Muhammadans would naturally wish to be in mental communion with their upper class co-religionists.

That High Hindi has a natural tendency to gain upon the Sikh Panjabi dialect is seen in the very fact of the principal religious books of the Sikhs, the *Adi Granth* and the *Daswen Pādçāh kâ Granth*, being written more in Hindi than Panjabi, the character, however, being Gurmukhi instead of Devanagari.† The very title of *Daswen Pādçāh kâ Granth* is Hindi, and the Sikh salutation and war-cry 'Wâ! Gurujî-kâ Khâlsâ, Wâ! Gurujî-kî Fateh' is Hindi, too. Panjabi, to quote a phrase of Mr. Matthew Arnold's, has

* Multani is a marked Punjabi dialect, as shown on Dr. Hoernle's *Language-Map*.

† "The *Granth* is written wholly in verse. . . The language used is rather the Hindi of Upper India generally, than the particular dialect of the Panjab; but some portions, especially of the last section, are composed in Sanskrit. The written character is throughout the Panjabi.—p. 368, Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, 2nd Edition, 1853."

"Like the "*Adi Granth*" the book of Govind [*Daswen Pādçāh-kâ Granth*] is metrical throughout. It is written in the Hindi dialect and

in the Panjabi character excepting the concluding portion, the language of which is Persian, while the alphabet continues the Gurmukhi. The Hindi of Govind is almost such as is spoken in the Gangetic provinces and has few peculiarities of the Panjabi dialect."—p. 372, *ibid*.

Of the concluding Persian "*Hikayets*" or *Tales*, Cunningham says that they were "composed by Govind himself as admonitory of Aurangzeb and sent to the Emperor by the hands of Deia Singh and four other Sikhs."... "These *Tales* occupy about 30 pages."—p. 376, *ibid*.

"the note of provincialism" about it, and the wise early Gurus accordingly made "Hindi rather than Panjabi" the vehicle of their teaching. Although under present circumstances, it seems necessary that Sikh Panjabi should be the medium of popular instruction among the Sikh community, there can be little doubt that the natural forces that operated in the case of the Grantha would continue to operate. Urdu cannot be killed in the Panjab, and the continuance of Urdu side by side with Sikh Panjabi, or any other Panjabi dialect would continually tend to turn the latter, as spoken and written by Hindus, into High Hindi, which is but Urdu with the higher vocables Sanskritic instead of Arabo-Persic.

To enable our readers to form a correct judgment about the relation of Panjabi to Hindi, we quote below the opinions of the Rev. C. W. Foreman of Lahore, and of the eminent orientalists, Mr. J. Beames and Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle; and give also a comparative view of Sikh Panjabi and Hindi grammatical forms, &c.

The Rev. Mr. Foreman, in his evidence, said of the Panjabi that it is "a *patois* of which there are many varieties," and also that "there is not much demand for education in this language."

The following are extracts from Mr. Beames's *Outlines of Indian Philology* and his *Comparative Grammar of the Aryan Languages of India*.

"This language [Panjabi] is scarcely spoken alike in any two towns . . . Panjabi is really nothing more than a dialect of Hindi, and is really descended from the Sâraswati Prâkrit, but by virtue of having a different alphabet, it has come to be considered a separate language."—p. 10, *Outlines of Indian Philology*, Edition of 1867.

"Panjabi is spoken half way through the country between the Satlaj and Jamnâ. In these regions it is generally observable, that if you address a man in Hindi, he answers you in Panjabi, and *vice versâ*, both languages being spoken with equal fluency and equal incorrectness, just as an Alsatian speaks French and German, both equally badly."—p. 97, *Comparative Grammar*.

"There are so many dialects in Panjab, that it is impossible to enumerate them. In every district, nay, in every Parganah, a difference is perceptible, and on arriving in a new station, the English official almost always finds himself confronted with a new local 'boli,' by which term I mean to imply a distinction something less than that conveyed by the word 'dialect'. Going from Gujrat to Jhelam, and from Jhelam to Rawal Pindi, the whole of the ryot's surroundings change their names completely twice over."—p. 99, *Comparative Grammar*.

Dr. Hoernle in his *Grammar of the Gaudian languages* does not dwell so much upon the affinities of the Western as upon those of

the Eastern Hindi dialects. The Language-Map prefixed to his work, however, exhibits the affinities not only of Panjabi, but also of Gujrati, Sindhi and Kachohhi as closer with Hindi than are the affinities of Banswari, spoken in Audh, the Lower Doab, and Bagheland; of Bhojpuri, spoken from the Nepal Tarai in the North to beyond Jabalpur in the South, and from near Allahabad in the West to beyond Chhapra in the East; and of Maithil and Magga spoken respectively north and south of the Ganges over the greater part of Behar. If Hindustani in its two phases answers for the territory covered by the latter dialects, it can surely answer better for the Panjab.

The Hindi case suffixes *ne*, *kā ko*, *men*,* *se* answer to the Panjabi† *nai*, *dā*, *nūn*,—, ‡ *te* respectively; the singulars of pronouns are very much alike; 'derivative nouns are formed in a variety of ways and generally follow the usages of the Hindi language,' feminines being formed as in Hindi, *ghorā-ghorī*, &c., &c.; adjectives are 'often derived from nouns as in Urdu, by adding the letter *ī*'; the conjugation system differs but slightly from Hindi, and the commonest words, nouns, pronouns, verbs, &c., in a large measure correspond. A number of instances is given below:—

H. Main = P. Main = E. I. H. Main *ne* = P. Main = E. By me. H. Merā = P. Merā = E. Mine. H. Mujhe, Mujh-ko = P. Mai *nūn* = E. Me (Acc. and Dat.) H. Mujh *men* = P. ——— = E. In me. H. Mujh *se* = P. Me *te* = E. From me. H. Ham = P. Asīn = E. We. H. Ham-*ne*, hamon-*ne* = P. Asīn = E. By us. H. Hamārā = P. Asādā, or sādā = E. Ours. H. Ham-ko, hamon-ko = P. Asā *nūn*, the hamā *nūn* = E. Us (Acc. and Dat.). H. Ham-*men*, hamon *men* = P. ——— = E. In us. H. Ham-*se* = P. Asā *te*. H. Tū, tain = P. Tūn = E. Thou. H. Tū-*ne* = P. Tūn = E. By thee. H. Terā = P. Terā = E. Thine. H. Tujhe, tujh-ko = P. Tai *nūn* = E. Thee (Acc. and Dat.). H. Tujh *men* = P. ——— = E. In thee. H. Tujh-*se* = P. Te *te* = E. From thee.

The plurals of the different cases of the personal pronouns represent the maximum grammatical difference between Punjabi and Hindi.

The P. demonstratives *ih* or *eh*, *uh* or *uh* correspond with the H. *yih* or *yah*, and *wuh* or *wah*. The first is declined as follows:—

Sing. *ih* or *eh*; *in*, *en* or *aun*; *is*, or *ih dā*; *is*, or *ih nūn*; ———; *is*, or *ih te*.

* The nasal *n* is represented in this paper by *ñ* and the cerebral by *n'*. अत्त is represented by *ā*, and the other long vowels as *i*, &c.

† This suffix is not used in the case of pronouns.

‡ The Ludhiana Grammar (Edition of 1851), which is my source of

information, does not give any locative suffix. Lepsius in his standard Alphabet (p. 110, 2nd Edition, 1863) has the following as Panjabi:—

'Herod rājā ke kāl men.' This is not very reliable, however; for Lepsius makes *kā*, instead of *dā*, the genitive suffix.

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Pl. *lh* or *eh* ; *inon*, *inhon*, or *enhon* or *aunhon* ; *inân* or *inhân dâ* ; *inân*, or *inhân-nûn* ; *inân*-or *inhân-te*.

The corresponding Hindi forms are Sing. *yih* or *yah* ; *is-ne* ; *iskâ* ; *yih*, *is-ko* or *ise* ; *is-men* ; *is-se* : Pl. *ye* ; *in-ne* ; *in-kâ* ; *in-ko*, *inhen*, or *inhon-ko* ; *in-men* ; *in-se*.

Koî (any), *jo* (who, which), *so* (that, he, &c), *itnâ* (this much), *utnâ*, *titnâ* (that much), *aisâ* (of such sort), *kaun ?* (who ? which ?), *kaî* (how many ?), *kitnâ* (how much), *kiâ* [= H. *kyâ*] = (what ?), *âp* (self), *jo koi* (whoever), *jo kuchh* (whatever), *koî nâ* [= H. *na*] *koî* (one or other), *kuchh nâ* [= H. *na*] *kuchh* (something or other), *har koî* (every one) are identical or almost identical in Hindi and Panjabi. Several other Panjabi pronominal forms are only slightly different from Hindi ; as, *hor kî* = *aur kyâ*, *sabh* = *'sab*, &c.

The Panjabi conjugational system closely resembles the Hindi, just as the common verbs are mostly alike.

H. *Honâ* = P. *Hon'â* = E. To be. H. *Hotâ* = P. *Hundâ* = E. Being. H. *Hoâ* = P. *Hoiâ* = E. Been. H. *Ho*, *hoke* = P. *Ho*, *hoke*, *haike* = E. Having been or having become. H. *Honewâlâ*, *honehârâ*, *honhâr* = P. *Hon'ewâlâ*, *hon'wâlâ*, *hon'ehârâ*, *hon'hârâ*. *hou'ehâr* *hon'hâr* = E. To be (Adj. Inf.). H. *Hûn* = P. *Hân* = E. Am. H. [Tu.] *hai* = P. *Hain* = E. Art. H. [Wuh] *hai* = P. *Hai* = E. Is. H. [Ham] *Hain* = P. [Asin] *Hân* = [We] *Are*. H. *Ho* = P. *Ho* = E. [You] *Are*. H. [We] *Hain* = P. *Han* = [They] *Are*. H. *Hotâ hûn*, *hotâ hai*, *hotâ hai* ; *hote hain*, *hote ho*, *hote hain* = P. *Hundâ hân*, *hundâ hain*, *hundâ hai* ; *hunde hân*, *hunde ho*, *hunde han* = E. Am being (existing), art being, is being ; are being, are being, are being, respectively.

The Hindi past *thâ* becomes *sâ* in the Panjabi. *Sâ* is inflected in the same way as *thâ* in Hindi.

H. *Hoûngâ*, or *hûngâ* ; *howegâ*, *hoegâ* or *hogâ* ; *howegâ*, *hoegâ* or *hogâ* with the plurals *howenge*, *hoenge* or *honge* ; *hooge*, or *hoge* ; *howenge*, *hoenge* or *honge* = P. *Howângâ* ; *howengâ* ; *howegâ* with the plurals *Howânge*, *howoge*, *hon'ge* = E. shall or will be, in all the persons and both the numbers in order, respectively. H. *Jânâ* = P. *Jân'â* = E. To go. H. *Jâtâ* = P. *Jândâ* = E. Going. H. *Gayâ* = P. *Giâ*, *Gaiâ* = E. Gone. H. *Mârâ* = P. *Mâr'nâ* = E. To beat.

A few phrases and sentences in Hindi and Panjabi are given, with English translations, and these will further shew the close similarity between the first two languages.

H. *Das bars on kâ laundâ* = P. *Dasân barsân dâ mundâ* = E. A boy of ten years. H. *Merâ khashm bhî buddhâ* = P. *Merâ khashm bhî buddhâ* = E. My husband [is] also old. H. *Yih kiskâ hai* = P. *Th kîs-dâ hai*. H. *Apnâ hî hai* = P. *Apn'â hî hai* = E. Is [mine] own. H. *Yih ghar merâ apnâ banâyâ huâ hai* = P. *Th ghar mera apnâ*

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banaiâ hoîâ hai. H. Ham ne tinon-ko tinon-ki jamîn (U. Zamîn)
dî = P. Asîn tinân-nûn tinân-dî jamîn dîdî. = E. We gave them
their land.

The Panjabi dialects must, we humbly think, be admitted to be
dialects of Hindi, if the following specimens be admitted to be
dialects of English.

(*South Lancashire*).

(1.) Oi'm o poor cotton-weyver, as many a one knoowas
Oi've nowt for teh yeat, an oi've woorn eawt my clooas.

Yo'ad hardly gi' tuppence for aw as oi've on.

My clogs are boath brosten, and stuckins oi've none.

(2.) Theawg no peshunce, Meary ; boh howd te tung on theawst
hear in o snift : for theaw mun know, ot tis some cunstable wur
os preawd ot id tean poor Tum prisner, or if theaw'd tean o hare
on had hur eh the appern meet neaw.—*Latham's English Lan-*
guage, 5th Edn., pp. 365, 366, 367.

(*Somersetshire*).

(1.) I be th' rawze O'Sharon, an' th' lilly o' th' vallies.

(2.) Loik th' lilly among tharns, zo be moi love among the
darters.—*Ibid.* p. 346.

(*West Yorkshire*).

(1.) I is 't roaz O'Sharun, au' 't lilly o' t' gills.

(2.) As 't lilly among t' wicks, evven soaa is mah luv among
t' dowghters.—*Ibid.* p. 376.

(*Northumberland*).

(1.) Aw's the rose O'Sharon, and the lily o' the valleys.

(2.) Like the lily among thorns, se is maw luv among the
dowtors.—*Ibid.* p. 379.

Religious and political circumstances led to Panjabi being set
up as a language distinct from Hindi, and the *status quo* must
be maintained by Government in respect of the Sikhs till the
Sikhs themselves decide to have Hindi, alongside of Panjabi, or to
the exclusion of it. To impose, however, Sikh Panjabi upon the
whole of the Panjab would be a most unwarrantable act. It
would be doing by means of the British bayonet what Sikh political
supremacy failed to do. The Sikhs, as a class, are, as Dr. Hunter
himself states in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, (p. 425, vol. vii.) "very
illiterate," and it is not illiteracy, but superior mental culture, that
leads to the prevalence of a dialect over kindred dialects. The
extension of Urdu was as much owing to the superior culture of the
Muhammadans as to their political supremacy. Whatever be the

quantity of Sikh Panjabi literature, its *quality* has not been such as to enable it to make way among neighbouring populations. It would be much better that every well-marked dialect of Panjabi should be the medium of popular education in the Panjab than that Sikh Panjabi should be enforced where it is not the vernacular. If one's provincial dialect is to be given, it should be given up for that kindred tongue that would bring the greatest amount of good. To the Panjabis, Hindustani in its two phases, would bring the greatest amount of good, and Hindustani, therefore, ought to be upheld in the Panjab. It would divide the people least among themselves, and would divide them least also from the Hindustanis to the east. No wise Englishman would like that every well-marked English dialect should be cultivated and enforced over the tract in which it is spoken. No wise German would like that the several High Dutch and Low Dutch dialects should be cultivated and set up against literary High Dutch. So no wise Indian can wish that there should be any farther division among the people of India in regard to language than is absolutely unavoidable.

SYAMACHARAN GANGULI.

THE QUARTER.

PREPARATIONS for the completion of an Indian contingent for Egypt were begun in India as the quarter opened. The authorities of the Agra Arsenal, by the 4th of July, had received orders to prepare siege trains for Egypt, and some of the regiments likely to join in the Expedition were mentioned. Two days after, the Bombay authorities received orders to make arrangements for the despatch of 4,000 infantry, 900 cavalry and two batteries of artillery. Stores, tents and transports were also in preparation, and the 72nd Highlanders, a Garrison Battery and two Native Infantry regiments, the 16th and 29th, were reported as likely to form the Bombay brigade, with two Madras regiments at Aden as a reserve, the 4th and 30th, and the 31st to proceed to Egypt. By the 10th of July the 1st Battalion, York and Lancashire regiment at Morar, were under orders for Aden. With the news of the bombardment of Alexandria on the 11th of July and the warning by Admiral Seymour of all merchant vessels using the Canal to do so at their own risk, considerable excitement was apparent in India, the detention of the mails was expected, and a recurrence to the Cape route was for a few days regarded as highly probable. By the 17th July, when Alexandria had been deserted by Arabi Pasha and the city in flames, orders were issued from Simla recalling absentees from regiments and directing troops to equip at once for Egypt. The first Government hired transport, the *Maldu*, sailed from Bombay on the 20th July with the A Company of the Madras Sappers and Miners accompanied by mules, horses and cattle. In little over three weeks from the time that the Government of India received orders for the despatch of the contingent to Egypt, the whole force was ready for despatch, and why the contingent did not leave earlier than it did was, probably due to the fact that changes were made in its composition; for, by the 26th of July, the Indian force was reduced in number, and it was decided that it should consist of the 65th British Infantry (which had already left Bombay), three regiments of Native Infantry, three of Native Cavalry, two Companies of Sappers and Miners with two Native regiments as a reserve at Aden.

The *Gazette Extraordinary* announcing the despatch of the expedition to Egypt was published on the 29th of July, and may be summarised as follows:—The 4th and 31st Madras Infantry to go in reserve to Aden. The Native regiments were to go in established strength of 550 of all ranks for Cavalry and 832 for Infantry, so far as they are complete. Commanding officers were held responsible that none, whether officers or men unfit for field-service, should accompany the corps, each native corps was to be completed to the

full establishment of eight British officers, including those recalled from furlough and journey in Egypt. The follower's baggage and servants are to be on the Cabul scale. Families of British troops left behind in India will receive, besides subsistence allowance, three-fourth rations for wives and one-half for children. The British troops, including officers, remain on Indian pay allowances until they land in Egypt, when they will be on the same scale of pay as the rest of the British troops with the force. The Native Infantry and Sappers draw extra batta, and there are to be special rates of pay for the native officers, commissioned and non-commissioned in the Cavalry. British officers and Departmental officers are to be permitted to draw rations for themselves and servants. Three months pay was advanced.

By the 7th of August 33 steamers were chartered by Government for the Indian Contingent, and on the 11th, General McPherson who commands the Expedition, his Staff, and General Wilkinson embarked for Egypt, and reached Suez by the 21st. Transport accompanies each regiment, so that no delay will be experienced on landing. The embarking and despatch was effected with the utmost order and the greatest celerity; but very few expressions of public enthusiasm marked the departure of the various transports. Thirty-nine vessels were taken up as transports for the Indian Contingent by the middle of August, and on the 24th the reserves to be held in readiness were the 1st and 45th Bengal Native Infantry, the 16th Bombay Native Infantry and two Companies of Bengal Sappers. As August closed 49 vessels, all of them steamers, were engaged in the transport of the Indian Contingent.

The Secretary of State for India brought forward a motion in the House of Commons on the evening of the 31st July, that the expenses of the Indian Contingent for Egypt should be charged to India, the Government of India objected to defray the cost of the Contingent, and the Home Government at present wished that India should pay a fair share only of the expense. The motion was passed with the addition of the words "subject to the further decision of Parliament," so that when the cost of the Indian expeditionary force comes on for discussion, the whole question will be reopened. There is nothing unreasonable in charging to India a share of the cost of protecting her interests in Egypt as they are represented in the Canal. The whole actual cost of the expedition to the Indian Government will not be saddled on the Indian taxpayers.

Offers of aid to the Indian Government in connection with the despatch of the Contingent were made by the States of Nepal, Kashmir, Patiala, Dhar, Jhind, Natha, Kapurthala, Bhawalpur, Malerkotta and others, which were declined by the Government.

The following description of the preparation for the departure of troops for Egypt from a Bombay paper shows the speed and spirit with which the embarkation was effected :—

"The departure of Troops from Bombay.—The arrangements for the despatch of the troops, forming the Indian Contingent; continue to be vigorously pushed on at the Prince's Dock. The dock, as may be expected, presents at this time an unusually busy appearance, and the conveniences it affords for the loading and unloading of ships were, perhaps, never more thoroughly tested and appreciated. With the help of the hydraulic cranes, a vessel can be loaded in an inconceivably short space of time, and we are informed that the work of shipping the requirements for the troops has actually always been a little in advance of the preparation of the chartered vessel for its freight. The Commissariat Department, under Colonel Swinhoe and Major Hughes, D.A. C.G., have been specially successful in their work. Notwithstanding many difficulties, the vessels have been supplied by the department as fast as they could be brought alongside the quay, with all the manifold necessities intended for consumption by the troops, European and native, both on the voyage and after landing. As an instance of the expeditious manner in which the work is being done, it may be mentioned that the S.S. *Galatia* was taken in hand by Major Hughes at about 8-30 yesterday morning (August 8th) and by 2 o'clock in the afternoon she was fully provisioned for about 243 men. The *Galatia* is to take a detachment of the 7-1 R.A., a mountain battery which consists for the most part of native, with a percentage of European soldiers. Provision has been made in the *Galatia* for 88 European and 100 native soldiers, with 55 followers. The estimated length of the voyage is 30 days; but reserve stores for 90 days have also been laid in, so that in the event of the vessel being delayed in mid-ocean, or in any other contingency, the troops can be independent of extraneous assistance. As we have already explained, the native soldiers are divided into two classes, "cooking" and "non-cooking," but the latter class form a very small proportion of the force. Out of the 155 natives proceeding by the *Galatia* only 26, we believe, are "non-cookers." A very large quantity of various kinds of provisions will of course be required for the entire force to be embarked from Bombay, and each vessel has taken on board many thousands of lbs. of meat (fresh and preserved), onions, pickles, dhall, sugar, tamarind, lime juice, rum, &c., with a large supply of water and firewood. The vessels already provisioned by the Commissariat Department, and now in the dock, are the *Tenasserim*, *Dryburgh Abbey*, *Ethiopia*, *Khiva*, *Galatia*, *Naples*, *Zambesi*, *Inchrhona* and *Armenia*. These vessels are now waiting

to receive the troops as they arrive ; some of them are still having fittings put up for the better accommodation of men and animals ; and on board them all the utmost activity prevails. It is the intention to ship, with each detachment in the same vessel, all the necessary transport and commissariat for that body, so that on landing it shall be a unit complete in itself, ready for immediate service. This entails a good deal of work at the beginning by the several departments, who supply the different wants of the vessel in regular order. The Commissariat Department expect to finish the work of provisioning the transports by Saturday next.

The arrival of the troops has called into existence at the dock gates a number of small shops for the sales of comestibles dear to the heart of Jack Sepoy, and here a thriving business was being done yesterday amongst the soldiers provided with the fractional coinage of native bazaars. These were men who were waiting to leave with their regiments, and who were to be seen in small parties within the dock and its neighbourhood. Work seemed to be going on everywhere, and zealous Commissariat and Ordnance officers already, like the man in the American hymn, "doing their level best"—were, no doubt, put on their mettle by the frequent visits to the dock of H. E. the Commander-in-Chief and members of the Head-Quarters staff. General Annesley, Adjutant-General, and Colonel Rivett-Carnac, Military Secretary, General Macpherson, Sir Frank Souter, General Carnegie, and several ladies visited the dock yesterday morning, and the Commander-in-Chief and staff were present later in the day. The *S. S. Northern*, *Booldana* and *Bhundura*, left the dock yesterday about 3 P.M. with portions of the 13th Bengal Lancers and a company of the Madras Sappers and Miners. Several high officers and a number of ladies were present at the dock on the occasion of their arrival in the morning. The 13th Lancers came from Deolali, and the Sappers and Miners from Poona by special train. They embarked as follows :—

By the *Northern*.—13th Bengal Lancers : 1 officer, 73 men, 60 followers, 87 horses and 43 ponies.

By the *Booldana*.—13th Bengal Lancers : 2 officers, 88 men, 59 followers, 82 horses and 50 ponies.

By the *Bhundara*.—13th Bengal Lancers : 2 officers, 82 men, 56 followers, 86 horses and 40 ponies.

By the same vessel.—Sappers and Miners : 3 officers, 2 non-commissioned officers, 121 men, 49 followers and 3 horses.

On the forenoon (15th August) the *S. S. Wisto Hall*, with a portion of the 13th Bengal Lancers, left the Prince's Dock for Suez. The Lancers arrived at the dock by special train from Deolali about 6 A.M. in the following strength :—1 European

officer, 83 rank and file, 6 followers, 89 horses, 59 ponies and 18 mules.

The S. S. *Principia* sailed for Suez about 10-30 P.M. last night with 1 officer, 66 followers of the Transport Department, 150 mules and 1 pony. The S. S. *Inchmornish* also left the dock about 11 P.M. yesterday with 1 officer, 203 followers of the Transport Department, 190 mules and 1 pony. The P. and O. mail-steamer *Sutlej* left the dock yesterday morning with a column of the Ambulance Corps, consisting of 1 officer, 1 horse and 395 followers. The S. S. *Boskenna Bay*, which has just been chartered for the purposes of the Indian Contingent for Egypt, entered the dock yesterday. The S. S. *Sumatra* also entered the dock yesterday with a general cargo, and will, it is reported, be taken up by Government after she has unloaded. The S. S. *Lucinda* and *Avoca* finished loading yesterday, and will, in all probability, sail for Suez to-day. The *Darien*, the *Cambodia*, and the *Deccan* were loaded yesterday, each with 2,000 bales of extra reserved hay. The S. S. *Norfolk* was loaded yesterday with provisions and other stores from the Commissariat depôt at the dock. To-day 2,000 bales of extra hay will be put on board of her. The S. S. *India* and the *Deccan* will be loaded to-day with stores, provisions, &c. The S. S. *Avoca*, which has been fitted up as an hospital ship, sailed for Suez yesterday forenoon with medical and also some Commissariat stores. The S. S. *Lucinda*, with reserved firewood, grain, hay, salt, and miscellaneous Commissariat stores, left the Prince's dock last night en route to Suez. The S. S. *India*, the *Deccan*, and one or two other vessels were loaded yesterday under the personal superintendence of Major Hughes. This officer, next to Colonel Swinhoe, has been the hardest worked at the Commissariat depôt in the dock. At the beginning of the operations of the depôt, Major Hughes was in sole charge, and worked so hard at his duties, day and night, that his health well nigh suffered, and Colonel Swinhoe had to be placed in charge of the depôt. Major Hughes' energy and promptitude in loading the transports have, we believe, been—as they deserved to be—commended to the special notice of the authorities.

No vessel leaves the dock to-day. The *Cambodia* and the *Kerbella* are expected to leave to-morrow, the former with 80 transport followers and 235 mules, and the latter with 160 transport followers, 220 mules and 3 warrant officers.

The following is the account of the *Englishman's* correspondent of the arrangements and passage from Bombay of the S. S.

A passage of six days and a half to Aden in the monsoon, Captain Scrivener boasts, beats the record. At the same rate

of progress we should reach Suez on Sunday or on Monday morning. The sea has not been rough, but, it must be confessed, it has done its usual fell work, and the approach of perfectly placid water yesterday was a boon and a blessing to many of Her Majesty's gallant soldiers temporarily *hors de combat*. It is, indeed, fortunate that things have gone so smoothly as they have, for a ship crowded like this, with human beings, horses, ponies and mules, would contain a considerable total of misery in tempestuous weather. There are on board as passengers General Macpherson and the Staff counting 18, one troop (55 men) of the 6th B. C. under command of Captain Gordon; native followers numbering 122; 21 non-commissioned officers belonging to the Commissariat. There are further 84 horses, 31 ponies and 16 mules. So many lungs want plenty of fresh air, and happily the human portion have mostly been able to remain on deck. A small number of the cavalry horses are permanently there, where a row of boxes on either side of the hatchway over the engine-room accommodates them as comfortably as may be. The rest, with the ponies and the mules, are put up in the 'tween decks. Right away from the entrance to the saloon to beyond the fore hatchway, there runs on each side of the ship a range of stalls. About the hatchway, where there is a good circulation of air, there is a third range in the centre. In this part of the ship the chargers belonging to General Macpherson and those of the staff have been placed. The stalls are roughly built but strong; they must be found of comfort by the horses, inasmuch as they offer a support when the vessel rolls and pitches. The horses have each a separate box, but the ponies and mules are placed, some of them, two and three together. They appear to like the arrangement, and when not eating stand amicably rubbing noses. The avenue formed along the length of the ship by the erection of the stalls, would, with the exits above at each end, secure good ventilation; but there are numerous approaches from the upper deck, each of which, of course, serves as a shaft for the conveyance of air. A line of large sized port holes goes the length of the ship, and since the ports were opened yesterday morning, the ventilation of the animals has left nothing to be desired. It was not an easy operation for a man to get behind the horses and screw down these ports when we left Bombay, nor again to open them, and it might prove a note worth making, that when next horses are sent over sea on an expedition like this, a narrow passage should be left behind their stalls for the above purpose. The health of the animals has been very good. The staff horses have their masters' eyes to see to their welfare; the animals belonging to the 6th B. C. the ever

constant attention of Captain Gordon, and Colonel Hayter has acquired a tender solicitude for his mules. The chargers are, perhaps, as well as ever they were on land; they eat well and they drink well, and though probably they are beginning to feel their constrained position irksome, they show no physical signs of weariness. The mules take their lot with accustomed equanimity, and most of the ponies appear to be well contented. Some, however, who have been placed alongside the engine-room hatchway present a contrast to their neighbours better off around them; but now that for the remainder of the voyage there are promises of a placid sea, the fresh air through the opened ports 'will doubtless revive their drooping spirits. There have been no losses as yet reported among any class of animals.

It is wonderful how the men and followers have revived since yesterday morning; but the day before, in the best of them, there was a look in each man's face as though he despaired of life, and the native countenance is an organism that can express despair of marvellous effect and variety. Since yesterday there have been evidence of the prevalence of a more hopeful outlook on things in general, and to-day hope has regained its ascendancy even in the worst cases. Everything has been done to induce the sowars and followers to stop on deck as much as possible, and Dr. Owen (who has been appointed Sanitary Officer to the force) has had those who were down below regularly sent up every morning at daybreak. The quarters provided down below are in the hold under the saloon, where usually passengers' baggage is stored. The accommodation has been arranged more, that all may be ready for any emergency, than with any hope and expectation that it would be much used. The hold is below water-line, and therefore to give light and air the hatches have been opened up, and shafts built up through the saloon to some ten feet above the quarter-deck. There are four such shafts, and the condition of the hold is not so undesirable as may be supposed. Under the shafts there is a good draught, and even in the remoter corners of the large and twilight chamber, the air is fairly sweet, and at all events, not worse than that in a cabin with the door closed. The place has not been much inhabited, however; but some of the sick men seem to prefer its seclusion to the garish deck. They would all come up in the morning as bidden, but gradually, one here and another there, would disappear below again, just as a sick dog likes to hide himself in a corner.

The body of troops on board this vessel, as those on board the other transports, represent organised units capable of taking the field in light marching order immediately on landing. This has been arranged by direction of His Excellency the Com-

mander-in-Chief, according to which every body of troops on each ship has taken with it half its allowance of transport animals, instead of going in one vessel and leaving its transport to come in another. The transport mules allowed for the expedition are on the Kabul scale, and numbered, when the strength of the force was fixed at a little over 5,500, a total of 4,000; doubtless as the force is to be increased, there will be an addition to the mules. The Seaforth Highlanders are allotted 636 animals, the two companies of Sappers and Miners 144; each regiment of Native Infantry 194; the Cavalry 149; a Battery of Artillery 155; out of the total 4,000; 2,577 are to be allotted regimentally, and the rest remain over for general purposes. Now, His Excellency's directions were that every body of troops embarking should be accompanied by one-half of its allotted number of animals, and with each ship this arrangement has been carried out. The result is, that should occasion call for the step, each such body being an independent organised unit, could take the field, with kits and ammunition, even if needful, on its own account. The arrangement will in any case, it is hoped, tend to increase the efficiency of the transport organisation. The transport states that now, for the first time in its history, is it to have a trial; and that its efforts to maintain an efficient state of things are not to be constantly sacrificed to, and brought to nought by, supposed independent exigencies.

The expedition has also, with the advance of the age, been provided with an improved ambulance corps. The miscellaneous body that has hitherto performed the functions of an ambulance, has been replaced by an organised corps. The Kahars—497 in number—accompanying the force, have been placed under direction of the transport authorities, and will be equipped and made over by them, when occasion arises, to the medical branch, while ordinarily the men will be available for work about the camp for anything to which their hands can be put. They are divided into columns and companies, and each unit is independent and can be attached to, and detached from, corps in such strength and at such times as may be needed. As part of the arrangement of making the troops on each ship as self-sufficient as possible, each vessel takes a dhooly and six bearers."

The order for the despatch of the Contingent reached India on the 10th of July. By the 20th the first troops sailed, and on the 31st of August, the whole Indian Contingent, including followers, horses, mules, and a completely equipped transport and commissariat had sailed for Suez. The speed, completeness, and efficiency with which the Egyptian expeditionary force was despatched, evoked the well-merited praise of the Commander-in-Chief.

The Punjab Provincial Committee of the Education Commission began the examination of witnesses on the 1st of July. The first witness examined was the Director of Public Instruction, Colonel Holroyd. The substance of his evidence went to show that for many years the effects of the Punjab Educational Department have been chiefly applied to the encouragement of higher education ; and that there had been a progressive decline in the number of primary and indigenous schools. The great feature, however, of the Punjab Educational Commission was, the examination of Dr. Leitner, which lasted two days, and whose evidence covers about sixty printed pages. His evidence tended to establish the charges made by the London Council of Education in India, and to prove that the Punjab Department of Public Instruction had not carried out the principles of the Educational Despatches of 1854 and 1859. In spite of the repeated instructions from the Punjab Government, the village school cess had largely been appropriated for a series of years to the higher schools, and the general establishment of the various indigenous schools whose methods of instruction the witness described, in detail, had been neglected or discouraged. Dr. Leitner was anxious to substantiate his remaining charges ; but the Commission thought his examination had already lasted sufficiently long. At the conclusion of the cross-examination, the President, Dr. Hunter, thanked him in the name of the Commission for the directness of his replies, and for the information which he had given.

At Aligar and Allahabad, addresses and deputations were received by the Commission, and the President, Dr. Hunter, made, in reply, speeches impressing on the native deputations the necessity for self-help, and for developing the indigenous schools. Other members of the Commission also addressed deputations on special topics, and scholarships of various kinds were founded in honour of the visit, and large sums subscribed for educational purposes by the native gentry. Altogether the Commission has met with a most enthusiastic reception in the Northern Provinces of India.

The Bombay Committee of the Education Commission began its settings in Poona on the 1st of September. The evidence given by representative men of the Maharatta country unanimously shows, that there exists a great system of vernacular education outside the Educational Department of the Province, which is discouraged by the Department. There are 4,000 unaided vernacular schools, and only 4,700 aided ones. The attitude of the Educational Department towards private educational effort was severely criticised by several witnesses. One witness, speaking as the mouthpiece of a number of Government schoolmasters,

complained of the excessively high standards demanded from young classes. The witnesses are agreed that higher education should not be curtailed, and that the higher and secondary schools of the Department are in accord with popular feeling.

The Khonds who, as we noted in the *postscript* to the previous Quarter, had been causing considerable uneasiness by their rising against the Kuttas, early in July dispersed and abandoned armed resistance, though their attitude was still threatening. Troops, police, and European officers, are still retained in the district, as their presence is considered essential for the restoration of order, and the trials of some of the prisoners have begun.

The death of the Ex-Gaekwar Mulhar Rao, who died of dysentery on the 26th of July, revives the story of the attempted poisoning of the Resident, and his deposition by the Government.

Some time before his last illness, he is said to have been of weak intellect, and his obstinacy in refusing to see a European physician, till his system was weakened by disease, hastened his death.

The revival of a Minister of Public Works has been found essential; accordingly, the Secretary of State for India sanctioned the revival of the post, and on the 22nd July, Mr. T. C. Hope took his seat as the new Public Works Member of Council.

Meetings, more or less crowded and enthusiastic, have been held all over India, voting addresses to Lord Ripon, and taking in hand the preliminaries for Local self-government. His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Mr. Rivers Thompson, has issued a long Minute on the subject, favourable its adoption. Local knowledge, and local interest, he regards as essential to the elective franchise in municipalities.

After negotiations extending over nearly three months, the contemplated treaty with Mandalay came to nothing. Towards the end of August, it was announced that the Mandalay Government declined to accept the draft of the treaty offered by the Government of India, which it is believed the Burmese Embassy accepted in the main. The adherence of the Government of India to the provision in the existing Treaty for the Residency Guard of the escort, and the refusal to agree to fresh monopolies in addition to those allowed by the existing Treaty, are believed to be the chief points objected to by the King of Burmah. The treaty proposed by the King of Burmah, and the one drawn up by the Government of India, have been published. The former has been characterised as "impudent," and it certainly includes clauses to which no Indian Government could agree. In the latter, the Government of India have gone as far towards conciliating Burmah as seems either possible or expedient. On the 31st of August the envoy left Simla, bearing presents from the Indian Government in return for those

brought from Burmah ; and on 7th September, the envoy and suite sailed from Calcutta to Rangoon. There is still some hope, however, that a treaty may be possible between the two Governments, or at all events, there is no fear of friendly relations being interrupted.

16th September 1882.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE latter half of September is notable for two important Government Resolutions which appeared in the *Gazette*, one relative to the prevention of frequent change in the personnel of the Administrative staff of the Provinces, the other has for its object the giving of greater publicity to measures under the consideration of the Legislative Council. In the former frequent changes are declared injurious, but that after five years in a district it is deniable that a change in Magistrates and Collectors should be made, unless under special circumstances. The actual incumbent is to take up the office he quitted on going on leave, and the acting officer is to be posted to such actually vacant office as may be suitable to his rank. Rules are also to be framed by which officers may curtail or lengthen their furlough to suit the convenience of the public service.

In the second resolution referred to, suggestions were called for from the press towards the improvement of existing legislative procedure. A popular statement of the objects and reasons and an explanation of the effects of the subject-matter on the people will be published in the vernaculars in as simple language as possible. These will be distributed at a nominal cost, and in some cases free of charge. The Press, Municipalities, Local Boards and associations will be supplied free. Free copies will also be placed in Kacharis for perusal.

The amount to be contributed by the Government of India towards the expenses of the Egyptian Expeditionary force remains yet to be decided by Parliament, but in view of the large disbursement which the Indian Government will require to make it was considered advisable to strengthen the cash balances at the treasuries by a loan of $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees. A loan was therefore called for of that amount bearing interest at 4 per cent. per annum. Tenders will be received up to noon on the 2nd of November, and instalments will be payable as follows :—One-third on by the 13th November, one-third by the 11th December, and the remainder on the 28th December.

The work of the Indian Contingent was practically over by the 16th of September. Telegrams reached Simla on that date, that Cairo had been occupied on the 14th by the cavalry after a forced march. Sir Garnet Wolsely arrived on the day following and was well received, and ten thousand of the Egyptians laid down their arms. Every position occupied by the enemy was surrendered, arms laid down and the army disbanded. In contrast to the defective transport of the English troops the Contingent despatched from India with so much celerity is distinguished for the careful state of preparation in which it landed in Egypt. The Contingent was hurried on from Suez by forced marches through Chalouf, Geneffe and Ismailia, thirty miles in a day, and fit for any work at the end of the march. Then on through Mah-sama and Kassassin to Tel-el-Kebir. The latter position fell on the morning of the 13th September. The camp at Kassassin was struck the previous evening and the troops advanced and bivouacked till 1-30 in the morning of the 13th when the attack was delivered. Sir Garnet Wolseley's despatch adds :—Arabi's personal command, consisted of twenty thousand regulars, including two thousand and five hundred cavalry, seventy guns, and six thousand Bedouins and irregulars. Our force consisted of eleven thousand bayonets, two thousand sabres and sixty guns. As an attack by day-light would have entailed a heavy loss, it was resolved to make the attack under cover of darkness, and the six miles which intervened between our camp and the enemy's position were accomplished by our force before day-light. The attack was made in the following order :—A force of cavalry and two batteries of horse artillery were placed on the enemy's right flank, and ordered to sweep round their line at daybreak. On the left flank were a force of cavalry, the first division, second brigade under Colonel Graham leading, supported by the brigade of Guards under the Duke of Connaught, and on their left were seven batteries of artillery consisting of forty-two guns in line with a supporting brigade, and the second division with the Highland brigade leading. The Indian Contingent were placed to the south of the Fresh water canal, whilst the Naval brigade occupied the railway track at intervals. A great emulation prevailed among the different regiments as to which should be the first to enter the enemy's position, and all went straight for it. The Royal Irish greatly distinguished themselves by their gallantry.

The despatch adds :—We are in possession of all the enemy's camps and a large number of guns, besides several trains and an immense quantity of supplies. The enemy fled in thousands, throwing away their arms when our cavalry overtook them. Their losses are enormous. General Willis was slightly wounded ;

Colonel Richardson, of the Duke of Cornwall's light infantry, was severely wounded; Majors Colville, Underwood and Somervell of the Highland light infantry, and Lieutenant Macneill of the Blackwatch were killed. The conduct of the troops throughout the action was admirable. Our cavalry are now marching upon Belbes, and the Indian Contingent upon Zag-a-zig, whither the Highland brigade follows this evening.

From the report received from General Macpherson, it appears that of the Indian Contingent, the following were the troops under his command in the action at Tel-el-Kebir :—

The Seaforth Highlanders, the head-quarters and three companies of each of the following Native Infantry Regiments, *viz.*, the 7th and the 20th Bengal N. I., and the 29th Bombay N. I., the Mountain battery, a squadron of the 6th Bengal cavalry and the Madras Sappers. The troops left their bivouack at 1-30 A. M. on the 13th, and proceeded along the south bank of the Fresh water canal. At dawn the first shot was fired, and the enemy forthwith replied with shell, but without inflicting loss. After a desultory opposition the enemy's battery still in the action was taken by a rush, and the enemy fled throwing down their arms. The entrenchments of Tel-el-Kebir were entered at 7-20 A. M. When all firing ceased, the Division continued its march to Zag-a-zig, and occupied that place with a squadron of the 6th B. C. At 4-15 P. M. the infantry followed, arriving from 6-30 to 9 P. M., some by a train which had been sent to meet them. The General reports that great praise is due to all ranks for their endurance. In the Native Infantry not a single man fell out or was carried. The casualties were as follows :—Killed.—Private Charles Hems of the Seaforth Highlanders. Wounded severely.—Color-Sergeant William Macdonald of the Seaforth Highlanders, Havildar Seir Bux, 29th Native Infantry, Beluchis. Wounded slightly.—Corporal David Ross, Seaforth Highlanders; Sepoys Mahomed Hossein and Sewram, 7th Native Infantry, Sepoys Heera Sing and Mytab Shah, 29th Native Infantry, Beluches. General Macpherson with the Indian Contingent marched for Zag-a-gig to Cairo where the united contingents were afterwards concentrated. On the 14th Colonel Drury Low had with the cavalry occupied Cairo. The Bengal cavalry surrounded the house where Arabi had taken refuge and took him prisoner. The soldierly qualities of the Indian Contingent have been universally acknowledged.

30th September 1882.

PUBLICATIONS BY THE EDITOR.

ON THE SUPPOSED UNCERTAINTY IN MEDICAL SCIENCE, and on the relation between diseases and their remedial Agents; being the Address in Medicine, read at the fourth Annual Meeting of the Bengal Branch of the British Medical Association, held on the 16th February, 1867,—by Mahendra Lál Sircár, M. D., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Association; Life-Member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.—Price 1 Rupee.

"A very interesting pamphlet." "An eloquent protest." "Calm and modest manner." "He has striven to show how disease may be cured more rapidly, more frequently, and more pleasantly than" &c.—*Monthly Homœopathic Review* (London).

"Even for literary execution, the pamphlet is a remarkable production."—*Hindoo Patriot*.

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The Journal for the present will consist of 40 pages Octavo, but will be increased in size in proportion to the amount of professional support and public patronage we meet with, upon which alone, it is needless to say, the success of the undertaking will entirely depend, and for which the Editor earnestly prays.

Subscriptions to be forwarded and communications addressed to

MAHENDRA LAL SIRCAR, M. D.,

51, Sankaritala, Calcutta.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Gun and its Development; with Notes on Shooting.—By W. W. Greener, Author of "Modern Breech-loaders," "Choke-bore Guns," etc., Cassell, Petter, Galpin and Co.: London, Paris and New York.

MR. GREENER'S previous works on guns are a guarantee for the excellence of at least a great portion of this one. On everything regarding the making and qualities of guns, there could hardly be a better authority.

The present work not only treats of modern guns, but goes at considerable length into the history of the weapon in all its forms, and winds up with a mass of thoroughly practical information on shooting and shooting-grounds at home and abroad, while the copious illustrations contained in it add largely to its utility.

The following remarks on the art of shooting on the wing are from the latter portion of the work. Mr. Greener's views about "holding ahead," and "holding on," will probably not be generally accepted.

As to the art of shooting on the wing, opinions widely different are credited by many well-experienced sportsmen. The lines of Watts, although old, are, however, applicable to modern sportsmen. The gist of his advice is contained in the following rhymes on Shooting Flying:—

"A few remarks may this explain,
Yet long 'twill take that art to gain,
Unless, with zealous patience, you
The following advice pursue:—
Remembering that nothing will
So certainly advance your skill
As sober habits, which preserve
Both strength of mind and strength of nerve—
Two matters that are influential
In many sports, in this—essential!
Walk, with a steady dog, o'er ground
Where partridges are quickly found.
However numerous they rise,
Look but at one, with both your eyes;
Then, elevate the tube with care,
Still gazing on the bird in air;
Follow it not along the sky
To take a formal aim, but try

To draw the trigger just as you
 At the gun's end the object view.
 Nine times in ten the gun is right
 At first, obeying well the sight ;
 But if you look, and look again,
 And doubt, and waver, it is plain
 Your hand has ev'ry chance to be
 Betrayed by such uncertainty.
 Proceed, then, as I just have taught,
 The pleasing knack will soon be caught ;
 But let me re-advise (for this
 Prevents, I am certain, many a miss) ;
 Close neither eye, some good shots say,
 Shut up your left, that's not my way ;
 But still, a man may take his oath
 • He'd better shut one eye than both."

It is now acknowledged that it is better to make use of both eyes, and to pay no attention whatever to the gun whilst aiming. In short, the *eye*, *hand*, and *trigger* must act in perfect unison, and without any consideration having to be given to either. On a bird rising, the hands should *intuitively* raise the gun until it covers the object, from off which the eyes are not taken before the trigger is pulled. This only requires practice, and if such is forthcoming, and the body kept in perfect health, a good wing shot is sure to result.

Health is undoubtedly of the greatest importance to professional shots, and is necessary to good shooting. It cannot be expected that one who has not the power over his muscles to keep the hand steady can exert them to raise at once a gun and level it to the greatest nicety.

It is now the prevailing notion that most misses are caused by shooting behind or below the mark aimed at. To remedy this, straight stocks are recommended, and the following method has been devised to ascertain whether the gun is properly brought up. The shooter is to place himself three or four yards from a good-sized mirror, and aim at his own eye, raising the gun repeatedly, steadily but quickly, as in shooting at a bird. On looking into the mirror, with the gun as brought up to the shoulder, if the two round holes, or end elevation of the muzzle, is alone discernible in the mirror, the fit and handling of the gun is theoretically correct ; if a little of the lower, or underside, of the barrel is likewise to be seen, so much the better ; but if any of the top rib, or top side, of the barrels figures in the mirror, the chances are that nine shots out of every ten will be below the birds.

Now as to hitting fast-flying birds, and game running at full speed. It is a much-disputed point amongst all who use the gun whether the shooter should "hold on," or "ahead." The latter appears to have best of the argument, theoretically and practically. To prove that either plan is the correct one would be next to impossible, but, with due deference to the majority of sportsmen, we hold with the practice of "holding on." A great deal of the difference doubtless is caused by the manner of bringing up the gun the shooter has acquired ; some bring up the gun with a "swing" in the direction the mark is moving, others bring up the gun and follow the object, whilst the majority of good shots put up the gun, and, it is supposed, fire "ahead." Now, those who shoot with the gun on the "swing," and who *intuitively* increase the speed of the "swing" in the same ratio as the increase in the speed of the mark, never require to "hold ahead," even in the opinion of the strongest supporters of the "hold

ahead" theory. The second class of "poking" shots are generally most uncertain in their aim, and the habit is detrimental to becoming an expert snap shot; whilst we cannot but believe that many who imagine they "hold ahead," in reality "hold on."

In the first place, having practised raising the gun and perfecting the handling so that it shall intuitively follow the eye, it must be most difficult to point the gun away from the object at which both eyes are staring, and if the eyes are removed from the object to some distance ahead, it is impossible to accurately tell what distance the line of aim is from the bird. This is especially the case when gazing at the sky, and for a shooter to be able to aim ten or fifteen yards ahead, as is advised by some wild-fowlers, is next to impossible to do with regularity. When gazing at no fixed object, it is as easy to move 30° across the sky as ten yards, and that without being aware of the discrepancy. Those who hold on, by shooting promptly, prove the truth of the theory that it is necessary for the hand and eye to act in unison; whilst they who hold ahead, although agreeing that the hand must follow the eye, yet so shoot that the hand must point the gun in a different direction to the object on which the eye is fixed.

An ordinary full-choke possesses a killing circle of at least thirty inches in diameter at thirty yards; so that saying a bird crossing was fired at by one of the "holders on," the shot travelling at the rate of 225 yards per second (see Table *ante*), would reach the bird at thirty yards in less than 1-5th of a second from the instant of pulling the trigger, so that it would indeed be a fast-flying bird to get without the killing circle in that time. The time required from the instant of pulling the trigger to the explosion of the cap is greater than that occupied by the shot travelling fifty yards; but in hammerless guns the time is less than in hammer guns, the blow given being much shorter and direct, instead of being conveyed by an exploding-pin.

Some quick shots, however, anticipate the time it takes to fire the gun, and pull the trigger whilst raising the gun to the shoulder. This requires considerable practice to perfect, and the gun must, of course, be within an ace of the proper position; but, however the practice may be deprecated, it is certainly *au fait* for trap as well as general snap shooting.

In grasping the gun, a disputed point is the position of the left hand. As a rule, sportsmen grasp the barrels in the very weakest place—*viz.*, just in front of the cartridge chambers. Others again, to shield themselves as far as possible from danger, grasp the front of the trigger-guard by the left hand. This position is erroneous, as but little command is obtained over the gun, the liability of injury by the breaking of the breech-action is not at all lessened, and usually a piece of horn has to be attached to the trigger-guard, as in Fig. 283, spoiling the beauty and handiness of the gun.

To have full command over the gun, and at the same time exposing the hand and arm to a minimum of risk in case of a burst, *grasp the gun well forward*—if close to the fore-end tip so much the better—but do not bring the hand nearer to the breach than six inches, and keep the elbow well depressed. By having a proper command over the gun, it can be raised quickly and easily, and even a heavy or clumsy gun may be manipulated with tolerable success.

The following on large "bags" may prove interesting:—

LARGE BAGS.

Perhaps few topics afford more discussion amongst the shooting community than the subject of large bags, and different persons hold different

opinions respecting them, according to each one's ideal as to what constitutes good sport. Without wishing in any way to take one side or the other, we append a few notes on the largest bags that have been made, as we believe every one will like to be accurately informed as to the largest bags recorded.

Battue shooting, a Continental fashion, has, of course, resulted in large bags, and rearing and preserving have to be more strictly persevered in, to keep up the average quantity of game.

Game on the Continent must, however, have been common enough in the eighteenth century, as the following clipping from an old journal will prove :—

"In 1788, a party of ten persons at the château of Prince Adam Daversperg, in Bohemia, who were out *five hours* on the 9th and 10th of September, allowed that the first day 6,168 shots were fired, and 876 hares, 259 pheasants, 362 partridges, besides quails, rabbits, hawks, &c., were bagged, or rather waggoned! On the second day 5,94 shots were discharged, and 181 hares, 634 pheasants, and 736 partridges were killed; in addition to these, in the evening of the second day were picked up 42 hares, 75 pheasants, and 103 partridges, which could not be immediately found in the bustle of the business. We are further informed that no peculiar mode was adopted to drive together such a quantity of game."

"Craven," in the *Sporting Magazine* for October 1845, gives an account of six days' shooting he had at that time in Germany. He says a party of a dozen killed, near the Hartz Mountains, in three days' shooting, 13 deer, 56 roes, 10 foxes and 325 hares; and at a shooting party in the plains of Magdeburg, in four days' shooting, no less than 2,400 hares were bagged.

The late King of Naples is said to have killed, at different times, in Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia, 6 bears, 1,820 wild boars, 1,968 stags, 13 wolves, 364 foxes, 15,350 pheasants, 1,121 rabbits, 16,354 hares, 1,625 sheep, 1,625 roebucks, and 12,435 partridges—in all 52,670 head of game.

In 1755 a hunting party, of which the King of France made one, chased in Bohemia for eighteen days; there were but thirty-three persons in the party, and eight were ladies. Spears, hawks, &c., were employed, as well as guns, but the result of the chase was the bagging of 47,950 head of game and deer, viz.:—19 stags, 10 foxes, 18,243 hares, 19,545 partridges, 9,499 pheasants, 114 larks, 353 quails, and 451 other birds. The Princess Charlotte fired 9,010 shots, the King 1,798 shots, the rest of the party making up the number of shots, to 16,209.

To return to our own country. About twenty-five years ago, Mr. Campbell, of Monzie, N.B., having driven all the grouse into a first-rate beat, sallied forth at daylight with five muzzle-loading guns and a sufficient quota of keepers and watchers, and succeeded in bagging 220 grouse by evening; every "squeaker" was, however, counted.

Lord Walsingham, on the 28th of August 1872, at Blumberhouse, in Yorks, killed 842 grouse in one day to his own gun. This is the largest bag on record.

The next is that of Mr. F. A. Millbank, M.P., a week before that of Lord Walsingham's, and in the same county. The bag, the result of eight drives, was 364 brace; and Mr. Millbank's party, varying from five to nine in number, succeeded in bagging in six days, commencing August 20th, no less than 3,983½ brace, or nearly 8,000 birds. Mr. Millbank's score for the six days, including the 364 brace bagged the first day, was 1,099½ brace.

The largest bag made over dogs was by the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, at Grantully, Perthshire, on the 12th of August 1871. His Highness used three guns, and only one pair of dogs working at a time. He commenced at five

o'clock, and continued until late in the afternoon. The result was, 220 brace of grouse. His Highness has likewise made the largest bag of partridges—namely, 750 birds, hand-reared; this was made at Hall Farm, Griswell, on the 8th of September 1876. The birds were hand-reared and driven, and were bagged with a little more than 1,000 cartridges being fired.

The notes on foreign shooting grounds include even such remote localities as the Arctic Circle and Japan, and nearly thirty pages are given to India and Burmah. Of all the grounds named, perhaps Baffin's Bay is the most attractive, though unfortunately it is accessible only to sportsmen with their own yachts.

ARCTIC SPORT.

In the summer months a yachting cruise for sport may advantageously be made, either to Baffin's Bay or Lapland.

If, for the first-mentioned, the best time to leave is about the end of May, and steam to *Disco* in Danish Greenland, reached in four weeks. On *Disco* Island, and on the mainland at a short distance from the settlement, there is plenty of game—Ducks, Seal, Walruses, and a few Deer. Steaming along the coast near Piöven, "Looms," are to be seen in myriads. Cockburn Island will give good sport, but if Cape York, is passed, and a small bay called Port Foulke made (lat. 78 deg. 20' N), it will afford excellent anchorage for eight or ten weeks, and is an unequalled centre for sport. Excursions may be made in its vicinity after the Musk-ox (*Bos Moschattus*), Reindeer, Hares, Foxes, Bears, Walruses and Seals. Sea-fowl of all kinds are numerous, including Ducks, Auks, Dovekies, Looms, Rotjes, and others barely classified.

It will be daylight almost the whole time, so that sport can be carried on without intermission.

The outfit should include a whale boat and harpoon gun, Express Rifles, and 10-bore shot guns.

In an easterly cruise during the summer or autumn, there is little chance of Walrus until rounding Cape North, and there it will only be found on icefloes. Walrus-hunters start annually from Tromsø, and coast along Novaya Zemlya and Siberia, as far as Cape Taiymir. Sometimes great success is met with, at others sport is indifferent. Reindeer, Polar Bears, Foxes, Swans, Geese, Ducks, Ptarmigan, and many other birds are plentiful along the coast of Lapland and the borders of the White Sea, but this trip is not likely to prove so successful for sport as that to Baffin's Bay. An Express Rifle and a 10-bore shot gun will be equal to the sport, unless Walrus-hunting is determined upon.

Indo-Aryans: Contributions towards the Elucidation of their Ancient and Medieval History. By Rājendralāla Mitra, C.I.E. In two volumes. Calcutta, W. Newman & Co., 3, Dalhousie Square. London: Edward Stanford, 55, Charing Cross. 1881.

THE contents of these two volumes of Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra's are accurately described in the title he has prefixed to them. They are a series of more or less elaborate essays, each of which is a valuable contribution, and several of which are highly valuable

contributions, to the Ancient, or the Mediæval, history of the Indian branch of the great Aryan race, while at least one of them, that on the primitive Aryans, takes a wider scope, and discusses the relations and conditions of the primitive Aryans as a body and their various migrations. But they are, after all, only essays, and as such are rather materials for history than history itself. The very order in which they are placed is non-historical; for, if governed by any principle at all, it is not that of chronological sequence. A, history of even the Indo-Aryans, much less of the Aryan race, is at present, and possibly will always remain in the fullest sense of the word, an impossibility. At least the positive data available for the purpose are so scanty, that any history which should be free from all admixture of speculative matter would be almost too brief to deserve the name.

Much of the matter in the volumes before us is of a speculative character, and not a little of it is distinctly controversial in treatment and tone. But it is none the less interesting or instructive for this reason. Sometimes however, Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra is inclined to be a little too dogmatic. As an instance of this we may take his assertion, in the essay on the primitive Aryans, that there is no instance in history in which one nation has voluntarily accepted the language of another. This positive and sweeping statement, is not only not correct, unless the word "voluntarily" is used in a most restricted sense, but it is quite unnecessary to prove the conclusion that the Indo-European languages have descended from one primitive language and race.

One of the most interesting of the essays is that on the origin of the Hindi dialects. In Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra's view that they are essentially Sanskritic, and derived from Sanskrit by direct descent through the Prakrits, we agree; but we are inclined to think he underrates the amount of the non-Aryan element incorporated in Hindi, and we are referring here not to foreign accretions; like the Arabic of late date, but to an element which is evidently the survival of a primitive aboriginal Indian language, or languages, being, in all probability, the language or languages of a people, or peoples, who were absorbed by the Aryan conquerors of India, or who at least came to be incorporated as inferior castes in the Hindu community. The subject is very far from having been thoroughly investigated, but we believe it will be found that the names of a large proportion of the commonest objects in *thentk* Hindi are non-Aryan.

Among the subjects discussed in the essays are the architecture and sculpture; the dress and ornaments; the furniture, household utensils, musical instruments and carriages; the dietary and the funeral and coronation ceremonies of the ancient Hindus.

Human sacrifices in ancient India; the identity of the Yavanas with the Greeks; the history of the Pala and Sena dynasties; Bhoj Raja and his homonyms; the early life of Asoka; the vestiges of the kings of Gwalior and the origin of the Sanskrit alphabet are also discussed.

A Bengali Primer in Roman Character: By J. F. Browne, B. C. S., London. Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill.

THIS work, as far as we have been able to test it, combines accuracy with extreme simplicity. Consisting of only thirty short pages, it, of course, makes no pretension to exhaustiveness, but, as an introduction to the study of more elaborate works, it comes as near perfection as possible. Of the principle of Romanisation we, for many reasons, disapprove, and the only argument of any importance that can be urged in its favour, appears to us to be based on the most shadowy foundation. It abridges and simplifies, we are told, the task of the learner. Now, since the character cannot, at the most, take more hours to learn than the language does months, the amount of time saved cannot exceed about one-thirtieth of the whole, and it cannot for a moment be maintained that this infinitesimal gain is worth the sacrifice of one of the essential conditions of thoroughness. It is true, there is a class of students who are liable to be frightened by the hieroglyphic aspect of an Oriental alphabet, and for such students, no doubt, Romanisation removes a stumbling-block which they would perhaps never otherwise have got over. But we have no hesitation in saying that students who are so readily frightened had better not attempt the study of Oriental languages at all. We are aware, of course, that other arguments are urged in favour of Romanisation. A hope, for instance, is entertained in some quarters that native usage may itself be revolutionised, and an approach made towards a common character by popularising the Roman alphabet in India. Not only, however, is this hope utterly chimerical, but the consummation which is its object is not at all to be desired.

England's Duty to India. A Letter to the Most Honourable The Marquis of Hartington, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India. By John Murdoch, LL. D. Madras: C. K. S. Press, Vepery. 1881.

THIS is an admirable little pamphlet, thoroughly practical, and going direct to the point. If it is somewhat overloaded with quotation, the authorities cited are always pertinent and unimpeachable.

That India should be governed in India, and for India, by men of special experience, subject to as little interference from Home as possible ; that taxation should be suited to the conditions of the country, subject to the cardinal principles of fairness, convenience of the tax-payer, economy of collection, greatest possible width of distribution, and absence of annoyance and oppression, and that every effort should be made to develop the wealth of the country ; these are the main points insisted on by the writer. Were it not that our later administration has largely ignored almost all these principles, they might be pronounced truisms.

Dr. Murdoch condemns in the strongest terms the attempt to govern India from Home ; the system of Permanent Settlements, direct taxation, the repeal of the cotton duties. On all these points we are entirely in accord with what he says. The question of the opium policy of the Government, which he regards as the greatest blot on our rule, is a more dubious one.

While of opinion that natives should be employed as largely as possible, he is sufficiently liberal in the limits which he admits to this "possible," thinking that there should be at least two European officers, a Magistrate and Collector, in each district, and insisting on the retention of a highly trained special Civil Service. "It is possible," he says, "that well-meaning men at home may advocate the appointment of Natives to all positions in the Civil Service. Let this be done when it can with safety to the country, but not till then. The Queen's Proclamation contains the words :—'And it is our further will that, so far as may be, Our subjects, of whatever Race or Creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our Service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.'

The Proclamation is conditional, and a Native Civilian, especially a *Bengali* Civilian, has not the 'ability' to head an armed party of police, to put down a riot, or to defend his bungalow against attack, like a European."

A considerable portion of the letter is devoted to the subject of taxation, and especially to the question of the repeal of the cotton duties. It is to the customs, the writer thinks, that the Government should look for all necessary additions to the revenue, and he would re-impose the cotton duties, and at the same time, in order to obviate their operating protectively, subject the local manufactures to an equivalent tax.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Bhārat Kosh. Compiled by Rāj Krishna Rāya and Sarāch Chandra Deb. Parts I, II, & III. Printed and published by Sarāch Chandra Deb at the Binā Press, 37, Mechuābazar Street, Calcutta.

THIS is the first dictionary of its kind in Bengali, compiled with the view of furnishing information regarding Vaidik, Paurānik and Tantric theology, the literature, music, arts, sciences, philosophy, *Dharma Sastras*, geography, the mythical and historical personages, &c., of ancient India. The importance of a work of this kind cannot be over-estimated. Ancient Sanskrit literature is so vast, and the difficulty of exploring it is so great, that a publication of this sort cannot fail to be recognised as a literary enterprise of a very praiseworthy kind. We hope, however, that Babu Rāj Krishna Rāya and his colleague will collect information more from the original sources than from second-hand authorities like the writings of Indian and European Sanskritists. The late Raja Radha Kant Deb compiled his *Subda Kalpa Druma* directly from Sanskrit sources; and that plan ought to be followed by the compilers of the dictionary under notice. The value of this dictionary, it may be also suggested, would be greatly enhanced by making the references a little more minute and explicit. Babu Rāj Krishna Rāya has commenced a good work, which, we hope, he will be enabled by persevering industry on his own part, and by liberal patronage on the part of the public, to bring to a successful completion.

Rāmāyan. Translated into Bengali verse, by Rāj Krishna Rāya with Notes. Printed at the Albert Press, Calcutta.

THE *Rāmāyan* and the *Mahābhārat*—the two great Sanskrit epics—have exercised a marvellous influence on the Hindu mind. As religious epics, they may be said to form the Bible of India. For many centuries, they have been, for the Indian people, the only source of mental culture. The moral and religious conceptions of the Hindus have been profoundly moulded by them. They form, for the people of this country, the most authoritative code of domestic, social and religious law. They have been, from time immemorial, read and listened to by all classes of Hindus in prosperity and in adversity, in happiness and in misery, in joy and in sorrow, for pleasure, for instruction, for religious advancement, for the regulation of practical life, for comfort, and for consolation. It is doubtful whether

any other work of human genius has been anywhere used for so many purposes, or has performed a more comprehensive function in the economy of human life. But the *Rāmāyan* and the *Mahābhārat* have been read only by a few members of the Brahminical class in the great Sanskrit originals. The great mass of the people have only heard them interpreted by *Kathaks*, or read them in the meagre and mutilated versions of *Krittibās* and *Kāshidās*. The class of professional reciters of the Purans called *Kathaks*, of whom many yet exist and exercise what is still a very useful and lucrative craft, are always compelled to adapt their interpretations of original Sanskrit literature to the tastes and requirements of mixed and popular audiences; whilst writers like *Krittibās* and *Kāshidās*, who derive their information from the *Kathaks*, are necessarily third-hand authorities, who may be very good in their own way, but whom it would be a grave mistake to regard as faithful interpreters of the great Sanskrit originals. *Krittibās* and *Kāshidās* have had, it is true, their time and their triumph, and seem destined to hold their ground for many more years. The village shopkeeper, it is clear, will not be in a position to dismiss them very soon. But the history of Bengali literature for the last 25 years or so, is the history of a progress in culture and improvement in literary taste which cannot be satisfied with such commodities as *Krittibās* and *Kāshidās*. The rapidity with which several prose versions of the two great epics have been within recent years bought up by Bengali readers is a remarkable fact, which may be regarded as implying the existence of a condition of things in which not garbled but faithful versions of good Sanskrit works are urgently needed. Already this want has been supplied in a really magnificent style by such men as Pandit Hem Chandra Bhattāchārjya and the late Babu Kāli Prasanna Sinha. These men have, however, given us only prose translations of the *Rāmāyan* and the *Mahābhārat*. But easy metrical translations of such poems must possess a peculiar interest, and may be rightly expected to suit intellectual capacities of a more varied kind than those which would appreciate scholarly prose. It is for this reason that we hail the appearance of the work under notice as a valuable contribution to the national literature of Bengal. It contains an easy translation into Bengali verse of the first three books of the *Rāmāyan*. The metre employed by the translator is of the kind which is most popular among Bengali readers of *all* classes, and includes only a few of those foreign imitations which have become disgustingly common in modern Bengali literature, but which possess little or no recommendation besides

their foreign appearance. We give below a specimen of the author's metre and style :—

অনন্তর রামচন্দ্র সুধীর লক্ষণে
কহিতে লাগিল ধীরে মধুর বচনে :
প্রাণের লক্ষ্মন ! তুমি ধর্মপরায়ণ,
সৎ পথাবলম্বী আর শান্তি নিকেতন ।
সর্বদা তোমাতে আমি জীবনের চেয়ে
প্রিয়জ্ঞান ব'রে থাকি সন্তুষ্ট হৃদয়
তুমি মম বশ্য অতি, জীবনের সখা,
তব সম হিতকারী নাহি যায় দেখা
তুগিও যদ্যপি, ভাই ! আজি মম মনে,
ভ্যজিয়া অযোধ্যাপুরী যাও ঘোর বনে,
তা' হ'লে কোণল্যা আর শ্মিত্রা জননী
কাদিবেন মহাশোক দিবস রজনী

It is clear that language, such as this cannot fail to be understood by those who have received little or no education, and that, considered in a literary point of view, Babu Raj Krishna's work is calculated to be a successful rival of Krittibás's popular version. For the learned, this work possesses great interest, inasmuch as it is full of notes embodying the results of varied reading and diligent research. Valmiki's great poem, it should be also noted, is full of chaste and genial poetry, and is besides instinct with a spirit of universal charity combined with a spirit of moral rectitude which, while it charms the soul by its exquisite sweetness and simple earnestness, cannot fail to exercise a deeply soothing and elevating influence on the reader's mind. Krittibás's *Rámáyan*, with all its excellences, falls far short of the great original in this respect. And it may be therefore expected of a faithful version like the one under notice that it will be a powerful instrument of *popular culture* in this country, and prove an invaluable auxiliary to the schemes of mass education which are now, it is believed, under the consideration of the Government of Lord Ripon. Babu Ráj Krishna Ráya is doing a truly national work, and the nation expects that he will complete it in the spirit of devotion in which he has begun it.

Banga Mahilá. By Jogendra Náráyan Ráya. Printed and published by Nandalál Basu at the Sádharáni Press, Chinsurah. 1881.

ONE of the most noticeable features of the great moral and intellectual revival which has taken place in this country

under the influence of English education and English example, is to be found in the increased and active interest which educated Hindus are now seen to take in the condition of their women. Girls' schools, periodicals like the *Bāmābodhini Patrikā*, and schemes for female emancipation are facts which possess a deep significance. They mean that the action of a foreign government has been productive of social influences of a more powerful and organic character than what political philosophers are generally found willing to ascribe to such action. Educated Hindus think and feel that the condition of their women is not what it should be, and that the existing relations of the sexes in this country stand in need of very important modifications. This means that English education has opened the eyes of its recipients to the necessity of altering the most essential of all human arrangements, the foundation for all other arrangements, the arrangement of the home. It is doubtful, therefore, whether a foreign influence, which is in this case synonymous in an essential degree with the influence of a foreign government, has anywhere produced so deep a result as it has done in this country. Of the extent to which Native opinion regarding the condition of Hindu women has been influenced by English education and English example, some idea may be formed from the work under notice. The education of Bengali women, the sort of books which they should read, the manner in which they should spend their time, their dress, their widowhood, their moral influence over their husbands, their domestic duties, their management of children, their religion, these and certain other topics have been discussed by Babu Jogendra Nārāyan Rāya. Unanimity of opinion on so many questions bearing upon the fundamental problem of woman's culture and position in the family is almost impossible; and we therefore feel no hesitation in declaring our dissent from the author on several important points. But in spite of differences of opinion, we cannot help expressing our hearty approval of the spirit of sympathy with the sex in this country in which the work has been throughout written. The author is really a friend and well-wisher of Bengali women, and we may also add, that he entertains for them very high esteem and respect. He desires that their condition should be materially improved, but he seems evidently to belong to that class among educated Natives who deprecate violent change. He has given advice to both the men and women of Bengal on a large variety of points, and although opinion may vary as to its soundness in all instances, it may be freely admitted that it is nowhere characterised by extravagance or a spirit of Utopian enthusiasm. *Bangā Mahilā* is, indeed, one of the best books of its kind we have come across

for some time, and it forms, we are glad to say, a really useful and valuable contribution to Bengali literature. Its style is easy and its diction smart and impressive. But the author's manner is not always unexceptionable. In speaking of the treatment of unhappy Hindu widows by the married women of Bengal, the author thus delivers himself:—

আর তোমাকে ও বলি বঙ্গীয় সধবা রমনি! তুমি লেখাপড়া শিক্ষা করিয়া ও জাতীয় স্বভাব পরিত্যাগ করিবে না? তোমার বিধবা ননদিবী যদি এক খানি রাঙ্গাপেড়ে সাড়ী পরিধান করেন, তবে তোমার প্রানে তাহা সহ্য হয় না কেন? বিধে-ভরা বক্তৃতা হাসি বাহির হয় কেন?

We feel no hesitation in saying that the সধবা রমনি (married woman) of Bengal, when she reads these lines, will be irresistibly moved to laugh a thoroughly girl-like laughter without heeding the point of the rebuke which is intended to be conveyed to her. In this, and in many other instances like this, the author's manner should have been awfully grave and severely judicial. But in spite of these defects, we feel real pleasure in recommending Babu Jogendra Nárâyna's work for earnest perusal by both the men and the women of Bengal.

Bhrántibinod. By Káli Prasanna Ghosh. Printed and published by Munshi Maula Buksh at the Dacca Girish Press. 1881.

BABU Káli Prasanna Ghosh is a distinguished name in modern Bengali literature. As the editor of the *Bándhab*, a first-class Bengali periodical, Babu Káli Prasanna Ghosh is the leader of a large group of Bengali scholars hailing from all parts of the country; and he is therefore a representative member of the literary community of Bengal. He has occupied this proud position for several years, and, considering his earnest devotion to the cause of his country's literature, it may be confidently asserted that he will maintain and adorn it for many a long year to come. He is a literary veteran whom every body respects, and who knows how to make himself respected by all. His last work, *Bhrántibinod*, is in every respect worthy of him and of his representative position. He has in this work exposed the many vices, follies, weaknesses, crudities, shortcomings, harmful conventionalities, and tyrannies of modern civilisation and of the modern man. The style in which he has done this is, to our thinking, better than that in which subjects of this kind are ordinarily treated. The sarcastic style is a powerful literary weapon, and there are cases in which it may

be very effectively employed. But it is in most cases a style which is offensive to those for whose benefit it is adopted. Its use is generally attributed to pride, overweening self-confidence, and want of genuine sympathy with others. Men who are actuated, or who are believed to be actuated by such impulses, can never make themselves agreeable to those for whom they write, and are invariably listened to with scant respect, if not in a positively contemptuous spirit. Sarcasm, in fact, may possess a purely literary interest; but for purposes of instruction, it is worse than useless. It often confirms men in the foolish and vicious courses against which it is directed. Babu Káli Prasanna Ghosh has therefore rightly avoided the sarcastic style, except in a few cases in which it is impossible for a cultivated man to feel anything but contempt. His style is a thoroughly earnest style, with, in many places, an under-current of humour to give it point. The three most noticeable features in the writings before us are an ardent love of independence, a stern hatred of moral sham and impurity, and an ardent tone of unselfishness and universal benevolence. Babu Káli Prasanna Ghosh's love of moral purity and sincerity is, indeed, so fervent as to lead him, in some cases, to perpetrate exaggerations of the nature of mistakes. We will give one instance. In his paper on "Current and obsolete lies," Babu Káli Prasanna Ghosh severely condemns the graceful and agreeable conventionalism in accordance with which a man, whether feeling well or ill, happy or unhappy, invariably answers a "How do you do?" with an "All right, thank you." We do not know whether it would not be more casuistical than anything else to question the propriety of a social conventionalism of this sort. But we are quite sure that the "All right, thank you," under all circumstances, is not a *LIE*, and is nowhere meant or understood to be such. But extreme views of this sort are in the case of Babu Káli Prasanna Ghosh owing to an ardent love of moral purity and sincerity; and if they are considered to be faults, they are at any rate faults on virtue's side. Babu Káli Prasanna Ghosh has displayed a vast amount of learning in the papers collected in this volume, and that learning, as well as the deep earnestness of his soul, has been reflected in a style of expression which may be described as being characteristically his own for eloquence and literary workmanship.

Ami Ramani-Kábya. Printed by Rájendra Náth Sen, and published by Bhuban Chandra Mukhopádhyaýa at the Sudhâbarsan Press, Calcutta, 1288. B. S.

A BENGALI lady describes in this volume the severe persecution she has suffered at the hands of a jealous and wicked

co-wife, the ruin in which her husband's family has been involved in consequence of her co-wife's selfish extravagance, and the difficulty with which, after her husband's death, she is supporting his miserable family including her co-wife and her children. The only good thing that we can say regarding this poetical narrative is this. It gives a very graphic picture of a Hindu household lorded over by a jealous co-wife and ruined by her influence. As for the authoress herself, we think that it would have been better if she had not published the story of her sufferings. Silent suffering is a higher and purer example for man than suffering which is made known to the world as if (and the hypothesis naturally suggests itself) with some secret intention of claiming praise or merit for the sufferer. The lady, indeed, raises a practical question at the end of her book ; and that is, how should helpless women of the more respectable classes among Hindus, who can neither practise a profession nor go about publicly begging from door to door, maintain themselves ? We admit that this question is growing in importance, as the old Hindu domestic system is giving way before the individualising influence of Western culture. But a narrative of personal suffering, like the one under notice, is not, we are decidedly of opinion, exactly the place where such a question should be raised. Society is aware of this problem, and society *must* solve it when it becomes really pressing in its character.

Nitimanjari. By Surya Kumār Adhikāri, B. A. Printed at the Sanskrit Press, and published at the Sanskrit Press Depository, Calcutta, 1881.

THIS is a little school-book consisting of easy poems very well calculated to work upon the moral nature of children. We have great pleasure in recommending it for use in the schools for boys and girls in this country.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Imperial Gazetteer of India. London: Trübner & Co.

THIS is beyond doubt a grand national work, entitling the projectors, the contributors, and, most of all, the Editor, to the warm thanks of all who are in any degree interested in the Indian Empire. Some drawbacks and imperfections were probably unavoidable in a first undertaking of such magnitude, among which one of the most deplorable is, that the Government of India appears to have made a point of the work appearing in 1881, while the results of the census could not be available till the following year. By this hurry—of the necessity for which we cannot presume to judge—the value of the work may be said to be universally impaired. There can hardly be a single page in which the new census will not enforce correction; while the general analysis and aggregates will be all wrong on points of more or less importance.

The plan and arrangement are as skilful as the execution is luminous and instructive. It would, of course, be impossible to offer a complete review of the whole; nor can any one have had hitherto either the leisure or the ability to make the needful examination. But we have adopted the very natural course of turning to articles on which we were best informed, and we have always found them treated with skill, and usually with accuracy. A few mistakes, in connexion chiefly with philology or transliteration, will be noticed in different portions, some at least of which may be attributable to those oversights from which the most careful printing can seldom be quite free.

The part which most exposes itself to question is probably the article "India" in Vol. IV. Apparently almost identical with that by the same writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* now in course of publication by Messrs. Black of Edinburgh, it seems less appropriate in a quasi authoritative *Gazetteer*, possessing the character of a work issued in pursuance of Governmental orders. Not only does it involve controversies in which the Government is itself a party, but it expresses conclusions to which the Government would perhaps hardly wish to be committed. Some of these conclusions appear to the undersigned very erroneous; and if they be so, it would have been better that

the credit of the ruling power should not appear to be staked upon them. Lastly, the article, while too long to be enjoyed as a literary essay, is not full enough to contain the information required from a work of reference.

One of the most serious instances of the impolicy of engaging the authority of the State, however indirectly, is to be found in the remarks upon what is erroneously called "the land-tax." Broadly speaking, the doctrine of the *Gazetteer* is that, the British tax the country far less heavily than did the Mughal Emperors, which, if the country prospered as is reported under the best of those Emperors, would be a serious imputation upon British administration. It is asserted that the land-revenue, during the last century of the empire, averaged 32 millions (*q. d.* of pounds sterling), and that this was only half of the whole revenue of the Mughal Government (pp. 456—8.) Making allowance for the subsequent discoveries of gold in California and Australia, and the importations of bullion into the Presidency mints, this supposed sum of sixty-four millions sterling would probably equal nearly two hundred millions of modern money, and represent an incidence of about ten rupees a head on the population. The present rate of incidence is probably about a quarter of that rate; so that—supposing (as we seem to have a right to suppose) the country to have borne the Mughal taxation without suffering—the British fiscal system must be one of almost scandalous inefficiency.

This estimate, it is true, omits to notice that over five hundred thousand square miles, with a population of some fifty millions (say, roughly, countries equivalent to the empires of Germany and Austria together) are under home rule, and pay nothing to the Imperial fisc, save some unimportant amount of tribute. But the omission is not material, as it does not exceed that which would have to be made in estimating Mughal resources. The Empire, in its widest extent, can never have derived any revenue worth considering from many enormous tracts of country now taxed by the British. Nor had its rulers the means of raising, as the British do with their opium, nearly, ten millions sterling from foreigners. Rajputana then, as now, was unproductive to the Imperial treasury. Nor did the Empire include such rich and extensive portions of the country, as Assam, British Burma, the Central Provinces (except in name), the Carnatic, or part (generally a small part) of the Deccan.

Happily this most astounding estimate rests on no adequate foundation. In the first place, to speak of what the revenue "averaged during a century," is in itself misleading. What practical information would be derived from a calculation that

the revenue of England during the last century averaged twenty-three millions, when we find from history that the revenue at the beginning of the period was under four, and at the end over thirty-eight millions? In the next place, the estimates for 1655 are—however conflicting—derived from the accounts of a highly organised and united monarchy, while those for 1761 (and for many preceding years) must be derived from conjectures built out of the ill-recorded conditions of a most anarchical chaos. Thirdly, what proof is there of the statement that the land-revenue of the Mughals was only half the whole income of the State? In those days there was no complete system of separate revenue; such items as stamps, excise, opium, and sea customs (none of which is obligatory on any native of India) yielded little or nothing compared with what they bring in now. The poll-tax was suspended during nearly the whole period—say, from 1560 to 1680*—and of the other supposed sources we know of scarcely any, except such fluctuating elements as fines and escheats, which probably went direct into the private chest of the Crown and never formed a part of the national budget.

A modern writer has shown† that the entire revenue—from all sources—was very much as follows:—

Under Akbar—ten to twelve *crores* of rupees. Under Jehángir—from twelve to seventeen and a half. Under Sháh Jahán—about twenty-two. Under Aurangzeb—from twenty-four to thirty-eight, increase due to impositions of poll-tax and conquest of parts of the Deccan.

For the succeeding period, we have no trustworthy sources of information. Neither do we know for a certainty what were the relative values of rupees and sterling during any part of the period covered by Mughal history.

But we learn from an Italian follower‡ of Aurangzeb that the thirty-eight *crores* supposed to have been collected (at one brief epoch of his long reign) by that Emperor, were equivalent to five hundred and eighty millions of French *livres*. Taking the *livre* to have been nearly equivalent to the modern *franc*, this is about twenty-three millions of English sterling: little more than one-third of Mr. Hunter's "average." And this was an exceptional maximum.

Such are the most important blemishes that we have been able to discover on a brief examination of this noble *Gazetteer*, and they may be all corrected easily in the next edition: where the statistics of the recent census will also, no doubt, be adopted.

* It was again taken off about 1720, and paper read before the As. Soc. of Bengal.

† Mr. Keene *v. Turks in India*, ‡ S. Manucci.

The origin of the *Gazetteer* is stated in Mr. Hunter's preface, where he also gives a brief sketch of early labours in the same field. It appears that, more than a century ago, the late Court of Directors endeavoured to collect the statistical details of the Eastern Subahs, then recently brought under this control. But for want of due superintendence, this project, and all succeeding attempts of a like nature, failed to come to any thing until the Viceroyship of "Lord Lawrence" Seconded by the Secretary of State, and warmly followed by Lord Mayo, the scheme got into the right hands as to executive control. The provincial governments being at last induced to adopt a uniform plan—subject to none but unavoidable modifications—it became possible to digest the information into a proper scientific and literary work, such as that now before us.

Starting from the "district"—corresponding to the shire or country of the British islands—the original survey gave a description of the 240 districts into which the country is divided for administrative purposes. These materials have in the first place furnished fifteen provincial *Gazetteers*. Those parts that are still under home rule had, however, to be omitted from this survey for political reasons. And, even for "British India," the provincial gazetteers—which, when finished, will form about a hundred bulky volumes, are too ponderous to meet the wants of the general reader. Consequently Mr Hunter, who never forgets the means of popularising his subject, has condensed the whole of his materials into the handy and workmanlike nine volumes which have formed the subject of this brief notice.

H. G. KEENE.

A Prospectus of the Scientific Study of the Hindu Law. By J. H. Nelson, M. A., London, C. Kegan Paul & Co. Madras, Higginbotham & Co., 1881.

MR. NELSON is an uncompromising iconoclast. He would make a clean sweep, at least as regards Southern India, of all existing authority on the subject of Hindû law, whether in the shape of text-books, or of precedents, and re-construct the edifice afresh in the light of the more advanced scholarship of the present day. "It commonly chances," he says in his preface, "that the mind of the untutored English judge in India passes through three successive phases as touching evidence. In his early days he accepts without hesitation almost anything in the shape of evidence that may be set before him. Then comes a revelation. He learns the startling fact that a deal of evidence is not legally admissible, and for year

he rejects, or regards with suspicion, almost everything that is offered. But, sooner or later, he will settle down comfortably in the middle course, accepting and rejecting with discrimination. Much the same sort of thing appears to have been going on in the matter of Hindû law. The earliest inquirers, and with them Jones and Colebrooke, seem to have believed whatever their *Pandits* (experts) chose to tell them. Then, after Colebrooke had left India, came what may be called the acute lawyer stage; strongly marked towards its close by the contemptuous snuffing out of the poor, misunderstood *Pandit*. And quite recently we have come to the third stage, in which wary Sanskritists like Goldstücker and Bühler have taught the student of Hindû law to take texts and *Pandits* (ancient and modern) for what they may be worth, and to seek everywhere for light. And now, with guides like Max Müller, Burnell, Mayr, Weber, Jolly, and others, explorers may hope to do much. In short, the scientific study of the Hindû law at last has become possible."

The Prospectus of the Scientific Study of the Hindû law is mainly an enquiry into the directions which research for this purpose should take; and the following points, among others, are laid down as standing in urgent need of settlement:—

"(1) With respect to the *Dharmas'astras*: when, and in what circumstances, and with what objects, were they first composed? And do the metrical recensions that have come down to us from comparatively recent times contain the substance of what was reduced into writing in the form of the ancient prose *Sâtras*?

"(2) Upon what points, and to what extent, do the existing *Dharmas'astras* differ one from another? The writers of the modern so-called digests failed in their endeavours to bring everything into harmony—would it be possible for others by any method to reconcile the differences in the *Smritis*? Or do the ancient works present different laws administered to different clans?

"(3) What are the precise ideas denoted and connoted by the words *Charana* and *S'akha* respectively? To what extent, if any, was it lawful for *Charana* A to accept and follow the doctrine of *Charana* B? What *Charanas* adhered to the old 'black *Yajur-Veda*,' and what to the new 'white *Yajur-Veda*,' founded by *Yajñavalkya*, of the family of the *Vajusaneyins*? What was the nature of the religious movement which followed upon the foundation of the new *Veda*, and how far was it connected with Buddhism? Was *Yajñavalkya* a Buddhist teacher?

"(4) Who were the *Mamars* whose *Dharmasastra* is known as the *Code of Menu*? Where did they live? When did they become extinct? What sect, if any, now represents them? Were they very numerous, or powerful, or notable, or was there anything special about them that induced other sects to govern themselves by their teaching? And, in particular, did their influence reach down to the South of India?

"(5) What was the origin of the now celebrated *Mitakara* or *Vijñanes'vara*? Where, when, and with what object, or for whose benefit, was it compiled? Is the existing the original text, or a quite modern recension? Who was the author? What are the grounds for the belief that this work was, and is, the 'paramount authority' on inheritance and succession over a considerable

part of India? Does it contain any positive laws or commands, or any collection of actual usages and customs, or is it a mere exposition of speculative opinions of a religious recluse upon subjects with which he could not possibly be conversant? Was the work at any time considered authoritative, in so far as it professes to deal with law, in the countries of South India? And what is the truth about other so-called works of authority in the Madras Province?

"(6) To what extent have Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Jainism, respectively, acted and reacted upon the religious beliefs and practices of the population of South India? What should be understood at the present time by the term *Hindû*? Are the *Vaishnavas*, *Saiva*, and other principal sects to be regarded as Hindû? What is the true history of the feud between the '*Right-hand*' and the '*Left-hand*'? How far does the antagonism between these two great divisions of society extend—for example, does it preclude the members of one division from accepting and respecting religious, legal, and other works that are accepted and respected by members of the other?

(7) What is meant by, and included in the term *Dravida*? What portions of the population of South India may be supposed to be *Dravida*? What was the origin of the family? What its state of civilisation in early times? How have Brahmanism and *Dravidism* acted and reacted on one another?

"(8) May the population of South India be made by any method of classification to sever into a few principal divisions, or will it be found on inquiry to consist of numberless independent and mutually repellent aggregates? Hitherto the inhabitants of the Western Coast have been assumed to be quite different and distinct from all other castes and tribes. Is the assumption warranted by facts, or do Western Coast practices, such as polyandry and succession in the female line, prevail elsewhere than on the Western Coast? To what extent do important customs, such as the preference of the son-in-law to the natural son as heir, and the custom of the father cohabiting with the son's wife prevail?

"(9) A few collections of usages and customs of so-called Hindûs exist and are accessible, as Boulnois and Rattigan's, Steele's, that of the Ceylon Tamils, and perhaps some few others. How far do they resemble and differ from one another? And to what extent, if any, do the rules contained in them appear to be based upon, or sanctioned by, the received Hindû law-books, or appear to agree with such notices of local usages and customs as are found in Hindu law-books?

"(10) Brahmins ought to govern themselves by their respective *S'akhas*. Do they? What are their usages and customs? To what extent do the usages and customs of *Ayyangars*,—for example, differ from those of *Ayyars*, *Maus*, and other divisions of Southern Brahmins? In what respects, and to what extent do the usages and customs of the principal non-Brahman castes, e. g., the *Chettis* and *Mudalis*, differ from those of the Brahmins and of one another? What are the most remarkable of the usages and customs of non-Brahman castes, and how far are they consistent or inconsistent with the Hindû religion and status?

"(11) To what extent do the Mahomedans of the Madras Province follow the usages and customs of other non-Brahman castes, for example, the custom of living together in undivided families, in a state of coparcenary?

"(12) What was the nature of the authority exercised by *Gurus*, heads of castes, heads of villages, and caste-meetings, respectively, in settling disputes of a civil nature, and punishing crimes and transgressions, before the establishment of the British power? And what portion, if any, of the authority of any of them survives?"

The work of reconstruction would involve the classification of existing Sanskrit law-books ; the determination of which should be considered obligatory on the Brahmans of Southern India generally, or on particular sections of them, and for what purposes, and to what extent ; of what rules (if any) contained in such books can be applied to true Sudras, if such are to be found in South India ; the investigation of the various usages and customs of the non-Brahman tribes and castes, for whom the writer believes it would be essential to legislate separately.

For the purpose of examining and reporting upon the Sanskrit books supposed to contain Hindû law, he would have Government appoint a mixed commission of orientalists, judges, and men of business. Of this commission, he says, " the principal duty should be to collect all the admissible evidence forthcoming to show that such books, all or any of them, have at any time, either consciously or unconsciously, been regarded by the population of South India, or by any part of it, as books containing law, and therefore as authorities obligatory on men's consciences. I have searched in vain for such evidence ; I honestly believe that not a particle of it can anywhere be found. If a properly appointed commission were to report that no such evidence is forthcoming, the monster called ' Hindoo Law ' would be quietly slain and buried without delay, and Government would begin the task of collecting and arranging in a simple form the few primitive usages and customs that are common to all or most Indian castes."

With the view of finding out the usages and customs of the Indian castes, he would appoint a committee of the principal officers of each district, with a District judge of experience, to collect, arrange and appraise the information obtained. He would then have Government publish, for the information of its judges, a concise statement of the results arrived at, to be styled the book of " Usages and Customs." After that it might go on " to draw up a set of rules for the guidance of the courts of justice in deciding causes in which the dispute involves questions of marriage, succession, inheritance, and the like. These rules should be of the most general character, and merely provisional. Not a single ' settled principle,' or definition should be found in them. Their main object should be to point out with some precision the right method of using the facts contained in the concise statement above spoken of. It should be declared that where either party challenges an act as being contrary to the custom of his caste and wrong, but it appears from the ' *Usages and Customs*' that acts of the kind habitually are done by all or most of the principal castes, and the act appears to the Court to be in itself indifferent, the Court shall, without going into evidence upon the point, decide then and there (for the

purposes of the particular suit) that the act was right and proper. But where the '*Usages and Customs*' was against the act, I would have the rule to be that the Court should take, or not take, evidence as to the custom, according as it did, or did not, think the act not to be in itself indifferent."

He would further have the heads of castes recognized and examined by the courts on points of usage, and he would largely extend the Registration Act.

He thus sums up :—

"In order to carry out the traditional policy of the British Government, and redeem the oft-repeated promise that we will administer to the people their own laws and customs in all matters of marriage, succession, and the like, it is advisable, in my opinion, for Government to do certain things in a certain order, namely :—

1. We must have a relieving and enabling Act passed, so that Indians may understand that they are free agents in ordinary affairs, except in so far as they may voluntarily have given up their liberty for caste or other reasons.

2. A commission must report upon the Sanskrit books supposed (as I think, erroneously supposed) to contain law obligatory on the people of South India.

3. By means of District Committees, or otherwise, Government must find out what in fact are the usages and customs of the Brahman and non-Brahman castes. Particularly, information must be collected in respect to the constitution of the 'house' or family, the nature of Indian rights over things, the position of the Managing Member, and the like.

4. An account of the results so obtained must be published for the guidance of the courts.

5. A set of general practical rules must be framed, to show the courts how to use the account just above referred to, and take evidence about custom.

6. The registration of marriages, adoptions, divisions, and other common acts should be made compulsory.

7. Steps should be taken to revive and improve the institution of the Family Council, and partially to recognise and define the position, rights and duties of the Managing Member.

8. The heads of castes must be officially and judicially recognised.

When these things have been done, and the new system of administering Hindû law has been worked for some years, it will be possible, perhaps very easy, to draw up a Code of Hindû law upon the basis of the '*Usages and Customs*,' as modified and illustrated by select decisions of the District Courts and High Court."

A Manual of Hindu Pāntheism. The Vedantasara, translated with copious Annotations. By Major J. A. Jacob, Bombay Staff Corps : Inspector of Army Schools, London : Trübner & Co., 1881.

THE modest title of Major Jacob's work conveys but an inadequate idea of the vast amount of research embodied in his notes to the text of the Vedantasara. So copious, indeed, are these,

and so much collateral matter do they bring to bear on the subject, that the diligent student will rise from their perusal with a fairly adequate view of Hindû philosophy generally. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that the author has not confined himself to exposition, and left his readers to form their own opinion of the value of the tenets described. But this is the only fault we have to find with his book, which, in other respects, is one of the best of its kind that we have seen.

The Quatrains of Omar Khayyám. Translated into English Verse. By E. H. Whinfield, M. A., Late of the Bengal Civil Service. London : Triibner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1882.

THE quatrains of Omar Khayyám are interesting not only for their intrinsic merit, whether from a poetical or a philosophical point of view, but as affording a striking illustration of the degree of culture attainable, in so out-of-the-way a place as Khorassan, in the 12th century of our era.

Omar Khayyám was a fellow-student of Nizam ul Mulk, afterwards the celebrated minister of Alp Arslan and Malik Shah, and of Hassan Sabbah, destined to be equally famous in another way. The three companions entered into a compact that whichever should first attain to fortune, would share it with the other two. Nizam ul Mulk, when he became Minister to Alp Arslan, was as good as his word, giving Hassan Sabbah a place at Court, and Omar, who declined to abandon his private station, a handsome stipend.

Hassan showed his gratitude by intriguing against his benefactor, and, failing in his attempt, retired from Court, joined the sect of the Ismailians, and ultimately founded the notorious sect of the Assassins. Omar was, by and bye, summoned by Nizam ul Mulk to Merv and placed in charge of the Royal Observatory there, in which post he superintended the reform of the old Persian Calendar. Besides his quatrains, he has left sundry works on mathematics, including one on Algebra, which has been translated.

There are several editions of the quatrains, varying greatly in their readings. Mr. Whinfield has used three of these for his excellent translation. The most prominent features in the quatrains are their profound agnosticism, combined with a fatalism based more on philosophic than religious grounds, their Epicureanism and the spirit of universal tolerance and charity which animates them.

The following specimens will serve to give an idea of the writer's views and style:—

I.

WE sojourn here for one short day or two,
And all the gain we get is grief and woe,
And then, leaving life's problems all unsolved,
And harassed by regrets, we have to go.

X.

From doubt to clear assurance is a breath,
 A breath from infidelity to faith ;
 Oh ! precious breath, enjoy it while you may,
 'Tis all that life can give, and then comes death.

XXV.

Still doth the "veil" man's utmost ken impede,
 And all our fond conjecturings mislead :
 Our only prospect is earth's quiet breast ;
 'Tis given to none the dark beyond to read.

XL.

O soul, so soon to leave this coil below,
 And pass the dread mysterious curtain through,
 Be of good cheer, and joy you while you may,
 You wot not whence you come, nor whither go.

XLII.

If men rebel, what of omnipotence ?
 And if they wander, what of providence ?
 If heaven be earned by works, as wages due,
 What room for mercy and benevolence ?

XLVI.

When Allah mixed my clay, he knew full well
 My future acts, and could each one foretell ;
 'Twas he who did my sins predestinate,
 Yet thinks it just to punish me in hell.

LII.

The potter did himself these vessels frame,
 What makes him cast them out to scorn and shame ?
 If he has made them well, why should he break them ?
 And though he marred them, they are not to blame.

LXXXVII.

These fools, by dint of ignorance most crass,
 Think they in wisdom all mankind surpass ;
 And glibly do they damn as infidel
 Whoever is not, like themselves, an ass.

CXXXV.

The world is baffled in its search for Thee,
 Wealth cannot find Thee, no, nor poverty ;
 Thou'rt very near us, but our ears are stopped,
 Our eyes are blinded that we may not see.

VI.

Whate'er thou doest, never grieve thy brother,
 Nor raise a fume of wrath his peace to smother.
 Dost thou desire to taste eternal bliss ?
 Vex thine own heart, but never vex another.

VII.

At first ensnare all hearts with kindly art,
Then let thine heart seek its pure counterpart,
A hundred Kaabas equal not one heart ;
Seek not the Kaaba, rather seek a heart.

XIX.

Pagodas are, like mosques, true homes of prayer ;
'Tis prayer that church bells waft upon the air ;
Kaaba and temple, rosary and cross,
All are but divers tongues of world-wide prayer.

XXXII.

Hearts with the light of love illumined well,
Whether in mosque or synagogue they dwell,
Have their names written in the book of love,
Unvexed by hopes of heaven or fears of hell.

LI.

To friends and eke to foes true kindness show :
No kindly heart unkindly deeds will do,
Harshness will alienate a bosom friend,
And kindness reconcile a deadly foe.

II.

Since no one can assure thee of the morrow,
Rejoice thy heart to-day, and banish sorrow
With sparkling wine, fair moon, for heaven's moon
Will look for us in vain on many a morrow.

LV.

Drink wine, and then as Mahmud thou wilt reign,
And list to music passing David's strain ;
Think not of past or future, seize to-day,
Thou one to-day will not be lived in vain.

LVI.

Drink wine, of human travail sweetest meed,
Fruitage of youth and balm of aged need ;
With boon companions, and with wine and rose,
Rejoice thy spirit—that is life indeed.

LXI.

They preach how sweet those Houri brides will be,
But, look you, so is wine sweet, taste and see.
Hold fast this cash, and let the credit be,
And shun the din of empty drums with me.

LXXIII.

When life is spent, who recks of joy or pain ?
Or cares in Naishapur and Balkh to reign ?
Come, quaff your wine, for after we are gone,
Moons will still wane and wax, and wax and wane.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Válmikir Jaya. The Three Forces, (Physical, Intellectual and Moral). By Hara Prasád Sástri, M. A. Printed by Bipinbihári Ráya, at the Ráya Press, 17, Bhabáni Charan Datta's Lane, and published at the Ráya Press Depository, 14, College Square, Calcutta : 1288 B. S.

IN a recent number of this *Review* we had the pleasure to introduce Mr. Sástri to our readers as the author of an exceedingly useful and interesting work entitled *Bhárat Mahilá*. Mr. Sástri's new work, *Válmikir Jaya*, is one of an entirely different description. *Bhárat Mahilá* is of the nature of a digest, or compilation, prepared with considerable erudition and critical acumen. *Válmikir Jaya* is of the nature of a poem, and, as such, it furnishes a clearer and more conclusive test of the author's mental powers than *Bhárat Mahilá*. One autumn evening, just at the point of time when the *Satya Yuga* was passing away and the *Tretá Yuga* was coming in, the skies presented a wonderful spectacle. Breaking through the vast milky expanse over head and illumining by their heavenly brightness the infinite space around, there descended on the high summits of the Himalayas a countless host of *Ribhus*, or spirits of departed ancestors, who sang a song of universal brotherhood, which entranced the Universe, but which only three men understood. These three were Basistha, Biswamitra and Valmiki, who felt profoundly stirred by the spirit of the song, and resolved to establish universal brotherhood among men. Basistha proposed to do this by his intellectual power over the different castes into which Hindu society was divided ; Biswamitra by establishing a military sovereignty over the whole race of man. In a conflict which soon broke out between these two men, Biswamitra's military power gave way before Basistha's spiritual or intellectual power ; whereupon Biswamitra resolved to usurp the superior spiritual power of the Brahmin. With this object in view, he entered upon a course of spiritual meditation, combined with physical austerities, which enabled him in the end to defy even Brahmá, and to create by spiritual force an entirely new world, with a new solar system, in which order and harmony reigned supreme. But Biswamitra himself felt solitary and miserable in his newly created world ; and so he resolved to take up and place therein the great city of Kanouj, the capital of his terrestrial empire, wherein lived all his friends and relatives. But the attempt proved unsuccessful, because the spiritual power acquired by him had been fully spent in the creation of the new world. His new world was therefore resolved back into its original nebulae, and

he himself, deprived of his spiritual power and half stupified with grief, fell whirling down upon a grand ceremonial altar, where Basistha was about to perform a great sacrifice, and around which were ranged two hostile parties, representing respectively the sacerdotal and warrior classes, armed to the teeth, and ready to close in deadly conflict, but exhorted all the while by the humane Valmiki and his humanised fraternity to forget all class interests, and to love each other as brothers. The song prevailed; all hearts were melted; Basistha and Biswamitra embraced each other and Valmiki; a strong wave of brotherly feeling swayed the vast multitude; the gods, who had assembled there, blessed every body, and went to back their abodes well pleased at the fraternal union effected by Valmiki's song of universal brotherhood.

Such is, in a few words, the plot of this poem. It is written in prose, but it is not on that account the less a poem. Its object, as may be seen from the brief summary given above, is to prove that social order cannot be created and maintained by mere physical force, nor even by intellectual force, and that moral force is alone competent to do this. We are not quite sure whether this is a complete solution of the question of social organisation; but this we can say, that Mr. Sástri's method of solution, so far as it goes, is not correct. If his *Biswamitra* and *Basistha* are respectively intended to represent physical force and intellectual force, they are both failures. Biswamitra creates his typical world, not by means of physical power, but by spiritual power, and thus we find no experiment of a harmonious social organisation effected by the exercise of mere physical power. If Biswamitra had established a vast military empire, like that of the Romans in the ancient world, or like that of Napoleon Bonaparte in the modern, and if that empire had been found crumbling to pieces through the action of the dissolving forces which are inherent in purely military organisations, we should have had in him a true representative of the idea which he is intended to personify. But he does not do that, and the experiment of a harmonious social organisation effected by physical power remains, therefore, unperformed. Basistha, again, does not represent intellectual power, but priestcraft or sacerdotal cunning; and, as regards social organisation, we do not even find him making an attempt in that direction. We do not know of any instances in history of attempts made by individuals or communities to construct society upon a purely intellectual basis. But a man of strong imaginative power, like Mr. Sástri, could have easily gathered materials for an intellectual experiment from such facts as the Puritanic regime in England (which laid an interdict upon the fine arts and the sports and amusements of the people), the

scholasticism of the middle ages, and the merciless intellectualism of the Convention. But though defective and even incorrect in procedure, Mr. Sástri is really grand in his execution. His sentiments are pure and elevated, his scenes are full of the greatest loftiness of the earth and the skies, his style is cast in the high heroic mould, his imagination soars above the greatest heights of the earth and heavens. His Biswamitra, apparently his most favorite creation, is a grand colossal figure, a wonderful monument of imaginative power in modern Bengali literature. Mr. Sástri is really a poet, and an ornament of his country's literature.

Continuing the thread of his narrative, Mr. Sástri gives in his concluding chapter a brief view of the moral plan of Valmiki's *Ramayan*. The poet is represented as giving the following account of what he intends doing in his great epic.

“আমি রামকে ধার্মিক ও করিবনা; বীর ও করিবনা; রাজনীতিজ্ঞ ও করিবনা। স্বয়ং নারায়ণ অবনীতে অবতীর্ণ হইতেছেন; তিনি আদর্শ মনুষ্য হইবেন। তাঁহার চরিত্র বর্ণনাক্রমে আমি আদর্শ মনুষ্য, আদর্শ রমণী, আদর্শ দম্পতী, আদর্শ ভ্রাতা, আদর্শ পরিবার, আদর্শ বন্ধু, আদর্শ রাজা ও আদর্শ শাসন প্রণালী, আদর্শ তৃত্য ও আদর্শ শত্রু দেখাইব। আপনারা অশীর্ষাদ করিলে আমি এই সুযোগে এমন একটী মনুষ্য চরিত্র চিত্রিত করিব, যদ্বর্শনে সর্বদেশীয় সর্বজাতীয় ও সর্বকালীন মানবগণ আনন্দ ও উপদেশ লাভ করিতে পারিবেন।

The reader will find in this a happy coincidence with the view which we have ourselves taken of the *Ramayan* in our notice of Babu Rajkrishna Raya's Bengali metrical version of that poem in the last number of this *Review*.

Rudrachanda (Nátiká). By Rabindra Náth Tagore. Printed and published by Kálkinkar Chakrabarti, at the Valmiki Press: Calcutta, Sakabda, 1803.

THIS is a small tragedy consisting of fourteen scenes. Rudra Chanda is an exiled enemy of King Prithviráj of Delhi. Since his banishment he has lived with his only daughter Amiyá in a secluded forest-region near the Himalayas. In this retreat, Amiyá is visited by a courtier of Prithviráj named Chánd Kabi, who loves the little girl as a brother. Rudra Chanda strongly resents Chánd Kabi's visits to Amiyá, but Amiyá cannot resist the impulse of her heart towards Chánd Kabi, whose visits therefore continue. Her situation, accordingly, becomes exceedingly dangerous and distressful. At this time

Mahammad Ghori invades India, and Prithvirāj falls in a battle with the invader. Rudra Chanda comes to the battle-field to kill Prithvirāj with his own hand, but, finding him already fallen, stabs himself in a fit of frustrated revengefulness. Amiyá, who has wandered about in search of Chánd Kabi, dies disappointed and overpowered by the terrible events which take place before her eyes.

The two most interesting characters in this story are Rudra Chanda and Amiyá. Of these two Rudra Chanda seems to us most successfully drawn. He is a strong and stalwart man, stern-hearted, fierce, revengeful. His conduct towards Amiyá and his behaviour on the battle-field strike us as terribly fierce and vindictive. He looks savage, but he is also a soldier, for he scorns Mahammad Ghori's stealthy overtures for the assistance of his sword. And it is because we know that he is a true soldier that his savage vindictiveness fails to make the shocking impression on our minds which it would otherwise have done. Knowing him to be incapable of anything like absolute meanness, we only find in his fierce vindictiveness an eminently realistic representation of the half savage, half noble soldier so well known to readers of Asiatic history and feudal Europe. Of Amiyá, we are sorry to say, we cannot speak so highly. We fancy she is cast in Miranda's mould; but between her and Miranda there is really a world of differences. Miranda is a piece of reality; Amiyá is a dream—a mere sentiment. Says the latter:—

“বড় সাধ যায় এই নক্ষত্র মালিনী
 শুদ্ধ যামিনীর সাথে মিশে যাই যদি!
 মৃদু লসয়ার এই, চাঁদের জেছনা,
 নিশার ঘুমন্ত শান্তি এর সাথে যদি
 অমিয়ার এ জীবন যায় মিলাইয়া!”

This is dreaminess. But dreams melt away before the real living world; and dreams have no external projection. Does Amiyá fulfil these conditions? No; for she should in that case be incapable of action, and therefore unfit to be introduced into a drama. Amiyá obstinately contests her father's will—she braves his wrath. This is external projection, wholly inconsistent with the dreaminess presented to us in the foregoing lines. A really dreamy character would simply vanish before so much external fierceness, before such severe objectivity. Amiyá is a psychological failure.

We doubt, again, whether the author is right in attributing to Amiyá any thing like an obstinate opposition to her father's will. The author probably means, by adopting this course, to set

forth by contrast the overpowering strength of her love for Chánd Kabi. All true poets have certainly represented love as a violent impulse ; but no true poet, intending to describe love as a right feeling, has compromised any other right feeling or principle for its sake. The filial feeling is as sacred as the feeling of brotherly or conjugal love, and in a rightly framed mind neither of them conflicts with the other. Miranda is, indeed, carried away by her unschooled and untutored disposition to engage herself to Ferdinand without the knowledge, and apparently against the wish of her father. But every reader of the *Tempest* will admit that, if Prospero had really assumed an attitude of stern or obstinate opposition, Miranda, of all women, would have been the first to turn away from Ferdinand, and the last to oppose, or act secretly against, her father's will. The spectacle of a child acting against her father's wish in the matter of love-making is a thoroughly demoralising one, and particularly mischievous in the present circumstances of Hindu society. And it is for this reason that we sincerely deplore the appearance of the school of Bengali erotic poetry of which Babu Rabindra Náth Tagore seems to be a leading representative. His Amiyá, indeed, appears simple enough not to understand why her innocent love for Chánd Kabi should be regarded with violent aversion by her father. But, without insisting on the principle that in a case of self *versus* parental authority, unquestioning obedience to her father is the child's first and foremost duty, we should state with reference to Amiyá that what is intended by the poet to enhance our sympathy with her is not so much simplicity as stupidity, or mental imbecility, a sort of *Nekámi*, to use an expressive Bengali word, which we do not like to associate with our idea of a really *lovely* female mind. Wearer sorry to observe, however, that the school of Bengali eotice poetry, referred to above, is principally characterised by, amongst other things, this practice of attributing this singularly unhappy mental trait to not only the heroines, but the heroes as well, of love stories.

Babu Rabindra Nath's is a really original and poetically constituted mind. He sees the delicate aspects of external nature in a manner in which no other Bengali poet has hitherto done. He enters and feels transformed into the soul of much that is lovely and beautiful in the world around. His Rudra Chanda shows that he has also a soul for the sterner things of the earth. Let him, therefore, guide his course with a little more thought, and we have no doubt he will take his place in the front rank of Bengali poets. We doubt whether he is not already very near the place which should be his, and only his.

Yurop-prabásir Patra. By Rabindra Náth Tagore. Printed by Káli Kinkar Chakrabarti at the Valmiki Press, and published by Sáradá Prasád Gangopádhya, Calcutta: Sakabdá, 1803.

THIS is another work by Babu Rabindra Náth Tagore. It consists of 14 letters written by him from England to friends in India. Besides a description of his voyage, these letters contain accounts of many things that Babu Rabindra Náth saw in Europe, and especially in England. The reader must not expect to find in these pages such matter as would be found in a book of travels written by a statesman, a political thinker, a student of sociology, or a naturalist. He will only find here a record of "those impressions" which, to use the author's own words, "the first sight of a foreign social system produced upon the mind," we should add, of a youthful Bengali traveller. The author also says that his reader will learn from his book how the opinions of a Bengali who goes to England are "formed and changed."

It is clear that, if the book did not enable us to learn any thing else, it would be worth our while to read it only in order to learn this last. We find that Mr. Tagore's views of things and manners underwent considerable change in the course of his residence in England, and that his later letters betray a very different style of thought from his earlier ones. The change was probably owing to increased knowledge of English social and domestic life, probably also to the accommodating influence of prolonged residence, and possibly, in some measure, to an accidentally fortunate combination of circumstances. Whatever the cause, Mr. Tagore, towards the close of his English visit, became a great admirer of English social and domestic life; and in his later letters, published for the first time in a first-class Bengali periodical called the *Bhuráti*, he accordingly expressed certain views, in condemnation of certain Indian institutions, which were severely attacked by the orthodox editor of that journal. We have no doubt that there is much that is really very good in English life compared with Indian life; but we are sorry to say that a thoughtful reader of these pages will feel compelled to reject a good deal of the evidence placed before him in behalf of several English social institutions and usages. That will not certainly mean that those institutions and usages are bad. That will only mean that Mr. Tagore has not been able to explain them properly. Of the unfavorable view which Mr. Tagore has taken of certain Indian institutions compared with corresponding English institutions, we are bound to say that it is a view of a singularly one-sided nature, and of a kind which usually characterises impulsive youth. We will give

one instance: Mr. Tagore says that English dinner parties, with the opportunities they offer of exchanging good feelings and taking part in intellectual conversation, are something infinitely better than the monster dinner parties of his own country, in which hundreds of men assemble only to create a deafening hub-bub. But we would ask Mr. Tagore, are all dinner parties bad where good feelings are not exchanged, and the guests do not discuss history and poetry? Dinner parties in India have their regulating principle as much as dinner parties in England. The monster dinner parties in this country are the result of the caste-system and the system of living in large village communities. They serve to strengthen the systems out of which they arise as a matter of course; and viewed in this light, they must be admitted by every thoughtful man to perform a more useful, important, and organic function in the social system than ordinary dinner parties in England. Indeed, Indian dinner parties bear to the conditions of Indian social life the same relation that political banquets bear to political life in England.

Mr. Tagore's book is full of graphic sketches. He writes with considerable humour, both genial and caustic. The scenes he has described are life-like. His book has greatly raised him in our opinion. He is really a man of versatile powers.

One word about his style. He may be right in thinking that letters to friends should be written in the homely and colloquial style in which we ordinarily talk with them. But he should have remembered that that is a style which we can only use at home and during leisure hours, when we can afford to be a little talkative and prodigal in the use of words. But study is a serious *business* in which loss of time means serious waste; and it would have been well if Mr. Tagore, before giving these letters to the public, had slightly altered their style with a view to condensation.

Bāmdōshinī. By Pyāri Chānd Mitra. Printed and published by Iswar Chandra Basu & Co, at the Stanhope Press, Calcutta, 1882.

THE following extract from the author's English preface will explain the object with which this book is written:—
 "It is very necessary that Hindu girls should acquire a correct knowledge of their duties as daughters, wives, and mothers, and above all, their duty to God, the love for whom should be instilled from childhood. They should also possess correct ideas on sanitation, and know how to bring up children properly. I have therefore written the present work, which is purely a moral

tale, leaving out all particular religious ideas, and showing the value of sanitation and the proper way of bringing up children, which cannot be taught unless the girls receive a sound moral education."

The author has certainly succeeded in carrying out his programme; and in so far his book may be safely recommended for use in girl's schools and in zenana teaching in this country. But before it is adopted for this purpose, we should like to see its style, which is in several places extremely un-Bengali, improved, and the many grammatical defects and solecisms, contained in it, corrected.

Aitihasik Sandarbha. Compiled by Srinath Chand. Printed by Pandit Nabin Chandra Chakrabarti at the Bharat Mihir Press, Mymensingh, 1881.

THE Compiler says in his preface :—

বঙ্গীয় বিদ্যালয়ের উচ্চ শ্রেণীতে যে সকল সাহিত্য গ্রন্থ অধ্যয়ন হয়, তাহার অধিকাংশই পৌরাণিক উপাখ্যানাদি হইতে সংগৃহীত সাহিত্যরূপে প্রকৃত ইতিহাস পাঠে যে মহৎ ফললাভ হয়, বঙ্গবিদ্যালয়ের ছাত্রগণ অদ্যাপি তাহাতে বঞ্চিত রহিয়াছে। বঙ্গসাহিত্যের এই অভাব কিয়ৎ পরিমাণে দূর হইবে মনে করিয়াই আমি এই অভিনব প্রণালী অবলম্বনে সাহসা হইয়াছি।

This means that much of the literature now read in Bengali schools consists of Pauranic stories. The advantage that may be derived from the study of authentic history is therefore lost to Bengali boys. To supply this serious want Babu Srinath Chand has adopted this অভিনব প্রণালী (novel plan) of presenting selections from Bengali works of fiction to Bengali schoolboys as historical essays, or, as he himself would have it, as "readings from Indian History!" This is Babu Srinath Chand's reply to Green's Readings from English History! And অভিনব প্রণালী indeed! The get-up of the book, however, does credit to the Mymensingh Press.

Gāthā. By the authoress of Dipnirwan. Printed and published by Kalikinkar Chakrabarti, at the Valmiki Press, Calcutta, 1287, B. S.

TO readers of this *Review*, the writer of this work is already favorably known as the authoress of a good Bengali

novel, entitled *Dipnirwán*, and of a good Bengali opera entitled *Basanta Utsab*.

The work before us consists of four small love stories in verse. The stories, we must say, are all happily conceived, indicating a refined and cultivated taste, a poetical frame of mind, and a sweet, tender, and sometimes even vigorous, fancy. The stories are told in a half lyrical, half narrative style, of which the fair writer seems to be a perfect master. Her versification is sweet, smooth, musical and eloquent. She appeals strongly to her reader's feelings, and, though her poetry is open in some degree to the strictures we have passed upon that of Mr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, it is nevertheless of a kind which we cannot afford to lose. She describes the minds of lovers with great skill, and she has also a fine pencil for external objects. The following picture of an old Hindu temple may be taken as a fair specimen of her descriptive art:—

বিজন একটি বনের মাঝারে
 কালের কালিমা মাখিয়া গায়,
 দাঁড়ায়ে একটি কালিকা মন্দির
 অনিত্যের স্থির প্রতিমা প্রায়
 ভেঙ্গে গেছে তীর শিখর প্রদেশ
 বর বর ইট পড়িছে খসি,
 বট অশ্বথের গভীর শিকড়
 রহেছে তাহার মরমে পশি

There is only one bad line here—বর বর ইট পড়িছে খসি,—which tells against the image presented in the fourth verse of the first stanza অনিত্যের স্থির প্রতিমা প্রায়. The idea of অনিত্য is sufficiently expressed by “the broken summit,” and the coloring given to it by “the falling bricks” is not only superfluous but positively destructive of the highly solemn and effective image which is raised by the words স্থির প্রতিমা in the reader's mind.

Gáthá, we feel no hesitation in saying, is fully worthy of the authoress of *Dipnirwán*. It is a highly creditable production; and as it is written by a Hindu lady, it is a work of rare interest.

CRITICAL NOTICE.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Speeches and Minutes of the Hon'ble Kristo Das Pal, Rai Bahadur, C.I.E., 1867-81. Edited by Ram Chandra Palit, Editor of the Speeches of Baboo Surendra Nath Banerjea, Calcutta : Printed and published by B. H. Banerjea & Co., "Cheapside Press," 243, Bow Bazar Street. 1882.

BABU Ram Chandra Palit has performed a very useful task in setting before his countrymen, in this volume, so admirable a series of exemplars as the principal speeches of the Hon'ble Kristo Das Pal. They are not only models of correct English, but they are distinguished by a moderation of tone and a sobriety of style which native orators in general would do well to imitate.

We think it would have been an improvement if the Editor had given the *ipsissima verba* of the speaker, instead of throwing the speeches into the oblique form, a process in which, however carefully it may be performed, they must necessarily lose some of their original spirit, and which, without special training, it is by no means easy to perform well.

Examination of Mr. Nelson's views of Hindu Law, in a letter to the Right Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff, Governor of Madras. By Mr. Justice Innes, a Judge of the High Court of Madras. Madras : Higginbotham & Co.

IF not conclusive as a vindication of current authorities and prevailing practice, Mr. Innes's examination is at least a successful plea for conservatism on practical grounds. There is, no doubt, a good deal too much truth in Mr. Nelson's view of the factitious character of much of what passes as Hindu Law, and of the injustice of ignoring the special customs of particular races and castes. But any thing like the wholesale demolition of the existing system, together with the foundations on which it rests, is extravagant and unpractical. The injury that would be done by unsettling every thing would be greater than the benefit that would result from such a reconstruction of the fabric as he recommends.

As Mr. Innes justly says:—

“To adopt Mr. Nelson’s suggestions whether as regards the higher or lower castes would commit us to chaos in the matter of the Hindu law we are now called on to administer. What is contemplated would result in our abdicating the vantage ground we have occupied for nearly a century, in which, if we continue to hold it, we may hope gradually to remove the differentiations of customary law and bring about a certain amount of manageable uniformity. It would be to commit us to the investigation and enforcement of an overwhelming variety of discordant customs among the lower castes, many of them of a highly immoral and objectionable character, which, if not brought into prominence and sanctioned by judicial recognition, will gradually give place to the less objectionable and more civilized customs of the superior castes.

The number of the existing Courts would have to be indefinitely increased to cope with the enormous increase in litigation which Mr Nelson’s system, if adopted, would infallibly bring with it.

Simplified Grammar of Hindustani, Persian and Arabic.

By E. H. Palmer, M.A. Lord Almoner’s Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge and Examiner in Hindustani to H. M. Civil Service Commission. London: Trübner & Co., 57 and 59, Ludgate Hill. 1882.

THIS little volume is one of Trübner’s Collection of Simplified Grammars of the Principal Asiatic and European languages, the object of which, the editor informs us in his preface, is to provide the learner with a concise but practical introduction to the various languages, and at the same time to furnish students of comparative philology with a clear and comprehensive view of their structure.

The object of the editor has been conciseness and clearness rather than the attainment of an ideal symmetry, by adapting the languages dealt with to the Greek or Latin grammatical system. We question very much, however, whether brevity has not been attained at the expense of intelligibility. The aptest of students will, we suspect, obtain but a very imperfect idea of Hindustani grammar from the twenty-seven small pages into which the subject has been compressed.

The treatment of the verb is especially inadequate.

Here, for instance, is the information regarding the tenses which Mr. Palmer considers a sufficient equipment for a candidate for the Indian Civil Service.

THE TENSES OF THE VERB.

Root لکھ *likh*, “write.”

لکھ *likh*.

Write.

میں لکھوں *main likhūn*, I (may be) writing.

ہم لکھیں *ham likhen*, We (may be) writing.

میں لکھوں گا *main likhūngā*, I writing-shall.

میں لکھتا ہوں *main likhtā hūn*, I (masc.) one writing am.

میں لکھتا تھا *main likhtā thā*, I one-writing was.

میں نے لکھا *main-ne likhā* I wrote.

میں نے لکھا ہی *main-ne likhā hai*. I wrote is, *i.e.*, the state "I wrote" is now a fact=
I have written.

میں نے لکھا تھا *main-ne likhā thā*, I wrote was, *i.e.*, the state
"I wrote" was the fact=
I had written.

میں نے لکھا ہوگا *main-ne likhā hogā*, I wrote will be, *i.e.*, the state
"I wrote" will take place
=
I shall have written.

If this knowledge enables any candidate to pass the examination, Mr. Palmer must be a most lenient examiner. It strikes us as the merest mockery to call this grammar, however simplified.

The Persian grammar is but little more satisfactory. The Arabic, on the other hand, is fairly complete for beginners, and is a model of clearness.

Free Trade v. Fair Trade, by T. H. Farrer, Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., London, Paris and New York.

THE above work is one of the numerous publications of the Cobden Club, all of them undertaken with the object of extending a knowledge of the principles of Free Trade: and showing the fallacies of protection in every form. The book has already taken a high place in the literature of the recent revival of protection; and should be read by all who desire a clear

statement of the questions at issue between free traders and fair traders. There is an appendix of about fifty pages of statistics of considerable importance.

A Manual of Indian Timbers : an account of the structure, growth, distribution and qualities of Indian woods. Prepared by J. S. Gamble, M.A., F.L.S., Officiating Conservator of Forests, Bengal. Published by order of the Government of India.

THE preparation of a Manual of Indian Timbers is a work of such large proportions, that it could scarcely be effected without the aid of officials in all parts of India. The forest products of India were represented in the Paris Exhibition of 1878 by a collection, which was one of the most complete ever formed in India and sent to Europe. To this collection the forest officers, in all parts of India, contributed. A number of duplicate sets of this collection were prepared for various Museums in Europe and America, as well as for the officers of the Forest Conservators of India. The collection thus made formed the basis of the present work, supplemented by the private collections of several Indian officials. The manual, though thus bringing together a fuller account of all that pertains to Indian timber than any hitherto published, does not profess to be an altogether complete and exhaustive one. This, indeed, can be accomplished only after a much longer and fuller series of observations and collections, than was possible in the time devoted to the preparation of the manual. The following extract from the introduction will give a fair idea of the information contained in the volume and the care taken in its preparation.

“As far as it was published, Bentham and Hooker’s ‘*Genera Plantarum*’ furnished the order in which the families were arranged, as well as the general nomenclature of genera and species. At the time that most of the work was written (1878) the ‘*Genera Plantarum*’ had only been published as far as the end of *Gamopetalæ*. Since then the *Apetalæ* have been completed, while the *Monocotyledons* may be expected to be published before long. In almost all cases the names given in the ‘*Flora Indica*’ have been taken, though there are a few exceptions in some of the genera, in which it was considered best to use better known names, quoting always the names given in the ‘*Flora Indica*’ as synonyms. The ‘*Flora Indica*’ is quoted as far as the end of the second volume, that is, to the end of *Cornaceæ*. The third volume

of the "Genera Plantarum," and the third volume of the "Flora Indica," now in course of publication, have very considerably altered the genera and specific names of many of the plants whose woods are here described. To have inserted these alterations either during the course of the printing, or as "Corrigenda," would have caused considerable delay; and so the text remains as it was written. But when a new edition is published, very great alterations will have to be made, and especially in some of the large orders like "Lauraceæ," which will have to be entirely remodelled. Generally speaking, the only books regularly quoted, are—

1. Hooker's *Flora Indica*.
2. Roxburgh's *Flora Indica*.
3. Brandis' *Forest Flora of North-West and Central India*.
4. Beddome's *Flora Sylvatica of the Madras Presidency*.
5. Kurz's *Forest Flora of British Burma*.
6. Gamble's *Trees, Shrubs and Large Climbers of the Darjeeling District*.

"The last mentioned work being referred to merely as indicating that the tree in question is found in the North-East Himalaya, in the same way as Brandis' *Forest Flora* shows that the tree is found in North-West and Central India; Beddome's *Flora* that it occurs in Madras; Kurz's *Forest Flora* that it is a native of Burma.

"A list of other works from which information has been drawn is appended to this introduction, and it must always be borne in mind that, excepting the actual descriptions of the woods, very little of what is here given is new, but has been compiled from all available sources of information. In this way the chief points of information here recorded under each species are—

1. The scientific name—with synonyms, so far as the six books referred to above are concerned.
2. The vernacular names—selected with as much care as possible, and with the spelling given according to the most ordinary system and the pronunciation of the word.
3. The description of the wood.
4. The geographical distribution as shortly as possible.
5. The record of all available information regarding rate of growth.
6. The results of all experiments on weight and strength that it was possible to quote.
7. The uses to which the wood and other products of the tree are generally put.
8. The list of specimens used in identification and description.

"To have added also a botanical description of the plant, as is done in Mathieu's "*Flore Forestière*" would have doubtless increased the value of the work, but it would have at least doubled

its size ; and, in the present state of our knowledge of the Indian Flora, would have been almost impossible. Besides, as has been already explained, the number of species of which the woods have been described is only a small proportion in reality of the total number of species of woody plants inhabiting India. But some attempt has been made to notice even the species which have not been described. In some important genera, a list of known species and their geographical habitat has been given, in other genera other species of note have been mentioned, and, whenever possible notes regarding the uses and qualities of the wood and the other products of the trees so referred to have been added. One great object in having thus mentioned other species has been kept in view, *viz.*, to show Forest Officers and others who may have the opportunity, *what we have not got*, and so persuade them to help, by sending to the writer or to the Forest School Museum, specimens that can be described and help at some future time in the publication of a more correct and complete description of the Indian woods than can now be attempted. In a few cases where most of the species are well known, as, for instance, the Maples, an attempt at an analytical key by which the species may be roughly determined in the forests has been given. In the French Forest Flora this has been done for all species, and the different Indian Forest Floras have similar analyses, but they are all dependent on more or less difficult botanical characters, while what we chiefly require is a series of keys which shall enable a non-botanical Forest Officer to ascertain the species of the tree he meets with, by means of the more conspicuous differences in habit, bark, and leaf.

“ It is now necessary to explain how the descriptions of the woods were made. During the progress of the work of preparation of specimens in Calcutta, and afterwards at more leisure in Simla, the examination of the different woods and their description was made by a committee which consisted of—

1. Dr. D. Brandis, F.R.S., C.I.E., Inspector General of Forests.
2. Mr. J. S. Gamble, M.A., Assistant to the Inspector General of Forests.
3. Mr. A. Smythies, B.A., Assistant Conservator of Forests, Central Provinces.

“ The descriptions were usually dictated by Dr. Brandis, and written down by one of the others, generally Mr. Smythies, but the wood structure was examined by all three officers and discussed before the description was finally passed. The whole was gone over three or four times, and in the later examination, when the Committee was more accustomed to the differences of structure, the generic and family characters were discussed and drawn up.

Some of the later received specimens, as well as those given in "Addenda," were described by the writer, but on the same plan and principle as was originally adopted by the Committee."

A comprehensive commentary on the Qurán : comprising Sale's Translation and Preliminary Discourse, with additional notes and emendations. Together with a complete index to the Text, Preliminary Discourse, and Notes. By the Rev. E. M. Wherry, M. A. Volume I. London, Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill.

THE first volume only of the above work has come to hand, and, as it contains the whole of Sale's Preliminary Discourse, we deem it best to notice it now rather than wait for the completion of the work. Although it is now exactly 149 years since George Sale published his translation of the Qurán "with explanatory notes taken from the most approved commentators to which is prefixed a preliminary discourse," no succeeding translator or commentator has ever since then been able to surpass in excellence, fidelity and learning the eminent oriental scholar, who died at London in 1736 under forty years of age, two years after the publication of his great work. Notwithstanding the century and a half since the production of Sale's great work, this volume is simply a reproduction of Sale's book with all his notes, comments, and authorities with some additional notes and emendations. The chief object of the present work in the words of the preface is "to call special attention to certain doctrines of the Qurán, *e.g.*, its testimony to the genuineness and credibility of the Christian Scriptures current in the days of Muhammad ; the evidence it affords to its own character as a fabrication ; its testimony to the imposture of the Arabian prophet, in his professing to attest the *Former Scriptures*, while denying almost every cardinal doctrine of the same,—in his putting into the mouth of God garbled statements as to Scripture, history, prophecy, and doctrine, to suit the purposes of his prophetic pretensions,—and in his appealing to Divinity to sanction his crimes against morality and decency.

"The need of emphasising facts of this kind has grown out of the attempt of certain apologists for Islám to ignore these unpleasant truths, and to exhibit to the present generation an ideal Muhammad, no less unlike the prophet of Arabia than the Muhammad of Christian bigotry and misrepresentation. My endeavour has been to show what the Qurán actually teaches on these subjects.

"On the other hand, I have endeavoured to remove, as far as known to me, the misapprehensions, and consequent misrepresentations, of the doctrines of the Qurán, popular among Christians,

believing that every such error strengthens the prejudices of Muhammadans, and thereby aids the cause it seeks to overthrow, whilst justifying similar misrepresentation from the Muslim side. Everywhere I have endeavoured to advance the cause of truth, to show just what the Qurán teaches, and so by stating fairly the issues of the controversy with Islám, to advance the great cause of bringing its votaries to a knowledge of Him to whom all the prophets of God pointed as the Son of God and the Saviour of sinners."

The British in India, by the Late Right Hon'ble Sir William Milbourne James, Lord Justice of Appeal. Edited by his daughter, Mary J. Salis Schwabe. London, Macmillan & Co.

THE above work was written, we learn from the preface, between 1864 and 1869. It was originally intended to form two parts, the first an historical account of the establishment of British power in India closing with the Mutiny, the second part was to describe the material and moral progress of the people, &c. The second part was never completed, and we have thus the historical portion only. It is interesting, not so much for any new facts or researches, as for the fact, that it exhibits the view taken by an eminent lawyer of the whole story of the progress of England's empire in the east. The following is Sir William Milbourne James's estimate of Lord Cornwallis's Permanent settlement. "He found the country divided into districts or zemindaries, each under a zemindar or land-tax collector, paid by a percentage on the amount at which the Government assessed his district. This office was one of great power and dignity, and constituted the only aristocracy which existed in the British dominions; but the only proprietary right to which the zemindars had any claim was the percentage of the Government rent or land-tax. Under the annual settlement zemindars who either refused to pay or were thought unworthy of being trusted with the management, were frequently dispossessed.

Lord Cornwallis felt rightly enough that the annual assessment was a fatal bar to all improvements, but the essentially illogical part of his scheme was, that he made the assessment permanent as between the Government and the zemindars, to whom he granted proprietary rights which they had not hitherto had, and did not make it permanent as regards the ryots, the actual possessors and cultivators of the soil itself. He does not seem to have realized that the ryots were the hereditary free-holders of the soil, liable only to the Government assessment, and were not tenants under a private landowner, liable to be dispossessed or rack-rented at his

pleasure. It is true, that the freehold ownership of the ryot had from excessive exactions become of little value, and that the rate of assessment left him barely sufficient for the maintenance of his family and the expenses of cultivation; a state of things for which the obvious remedy would have been to limit the demand on the ryot, and fix it, if not in perpetuity, at least, in permanence.

Lord Cornwallis appears to have thought that the prosperity of an agricultural district was to be ensured by imitating the model with which he was familiar in England:—large landowners applying themselves to the improvement of their estates, and surrounded by an industrious, thrifty, and well-to-do tenantry. He hoped that the zemindars would in time become such landlords, and the ryots such tenants. Starting from the idea that the zemindars were to be made into Lords of Manors, it was arranged that a fixed moderate demand should be made on them by the Government, certain rights being granted to the ryots, who became in fact customary tenants of the Manor. The zemindar was to have all profit derived from the reclamation of waste lands, and the rents were to be fixed by the value of the produce of the land, and could only be raised by inducing the ryot to cultivate the more valuable articles of produce, and to clear the extensive tracts of waste land. This part of the scheme seems hardly credible; it is just as if it were now to be enacted for the first time, that in order to promote agricultural improvement in England, tithes should be payable by the tenant, in respect of improved cultivation, or of the newly enclosed wastes of a manor.

The author's summing up of the Mutiny is, as follows:—
“In looking back at all the circumstances of the rebellion and its suppression, it is satisfactory to find that what took place was not the normal result of the permanent relations which had existed, and which must continue to exist, between the British as alien and Christian rulers and their Hindu and Muhammadan subjects. There was a combination of circumstances which, it is not too much to say, can by no possibility, in the ordinary course of human affairs, occur again. It is not probable that there should ever be a native army again with the pretensions or with the injuries, real or fancied, of the Bengal Sepoys; that there should be at the same time a whole nation of Talookdars, with armed retainers, smarting under the wrongs of a new and, to them oppressive rule; that there should be a Muhammadan dynasty to serve as a rallying-point in the old Mogul capital; that there should be the heir of the Peshwa, and the guardian of the young Prince of Jhansi, and the sovereigns and princes of Oude, at one and the same time inspired by the bitterest hatred of the British; or that there should ever be any similar coincidence of like causes

or of any causes, tending to produce a revolt against so powerful a rule as that of the British. The fact that the revolt was made and failed, and that the mutineers and rebels were so signally crushed, is itself calculated, until the lesson is forgotten, to prevent a renewal of the attempt.

It is not to be forgotten that the mutineers had provocation, temptation, and opportunity without example. It was not in human nature for men with arms in their hands to submit quietly to be squeezed out of their perquisites and privileges, and certainly not in Hindoo, or at all events, in Brahmin nature, to allow themselves to be without resistance deprived by fraud or force of their religion and their caste, as they believed to be the fate destined for them by the Government. It was very natural, too, that they should believe this, and that they should be carried away by a fury of passion, when they saw regiments cashiered and their comrades under a fearful sentence, for a refusal to touch the pollution of the ill-starred cartridges. The temptation was sedulously administered by the ever watchful, ever busy, emissaries of the discontented princes and chiefs, and by the voluntary missionaries of Hindoo and Muhammadan fanaticism. The opportunity was afforded by the unusual paucity of European troops, and by the blind confidence which had placed artillery, forts, arsenals, magazines, and the public treasuries almost in the sole care of the native soldiers, who had been carefully disciplined and trained in the use of every arm in the service. With all this provocation, opportunity, and temptation, it is reasonably certain that a very little change in the actual conditions would have either wholly prevented the mutiny and rebellion, or prevented them assuming the formidable proportions they did.

Had the railroads now existing then existed, the mutiny would never have had a day's chance of success. Had there been at Meerut a man with energy enough to have sent on half his force in pursuit of the mutinous Sepoys, the arsenal of Delhi would have been saved, and the population there cowed, as the population of Benares was by the small force under Neill. If there had been 20,000 Poorbea Sepoys less, and if there had been even 5,000 British soldiers and 5,000 Sikhs, Punjaubees, Goorkas, or low-caste Madrassese, in the important positions, the Sepoys would have been crushed. If, for example, there had been at Delhi 500 Europeans and 500 Goorkas or Sikhs, a like garrison as addition to the troops at Lucknow, a like at Agra, a like at Saugor, and a force of 3,000 or 4,000 Europeans and as many natives (not Sepoys) in the central position of Allahabad, it is quite certain that the rising would never have taken place, or at least would not have had the temporary success which caused the flame to burn so fiercely and

so widely. Many native regiments would never have joined the mutiny. As it was, many wavered and hesitated for a time, and with the presence of such forces at such places at the critical moment, these and probably others would have remained true to their salt. Mutiny is like a contagious disease; if you check it anywhere you check its spread, but each place where it prevails becomes a fresh centre of infection.

It is, moreover, obvious that the mutiny ought not to have lasted so long as it did after the Commander-in-Chief, and the reinforcements had arrived. The Commander-in-Chief's prudence and caution were carried to the very verge of timidity. If there had been a Lake, or a Napier, or a Rose, at Allahabad, the first move upon Lucknow would have been made much sooner, and there would have been no retreat for the purpose of massing the great force for the second move upon, and the final capture of, that place. It was not by such cautious tactics that the Anglo-Indian empire was won. No doubt the display of overwhelming force at each point assailed, saved life at that point; but it is the business of soldiers to risk their lives on the battle-field or in the assault, and the prolongation of a campaign for a single month under an Indian sun gives probably many more victims to disease than the British lost in any fight or storm. It does seem, at all events, inexplicable, that with the large army set comparatively free after the fall of Lucknow, the Commander-in-Chief should not have been able to detach a column to take and hold Calpee close at hand, instead of leaving that task and that additional glory to the gallant little army, which had forced and fought its way from the remote frontier of the Bombay Presidency. Sir Colin Campbell seems always to have thought that he was dealing with a real army under real generals, and, to use an expression found in one of the despatches of his own chief of the staff, he was always giving himself a stiff neck looking over his shoulder to see that his communications were not cut off.

If there had been real armies on the rebel side, the rapidity of their movements, and the reappearance of the same bodies, apparently under the same leaders, at places a great distance apart, would call for our profoundest admiration for the skill of the generals, and the aptitude of troops which could be so moved, and could be subsisted while so moved; but in truth they were not real armies. They were large masses gathered under a banner, easily beaten, easily dispersed, scattered in twos and threes, and gathered as easily together again, partly the same, partly other individuals, like a large mob beaten by a few police out of one street and assembling in another. This consideration, no doubt, detracts much from the brilliancy of the

achievements we are wont so much to admire in the gallant heroes of the mutiny ; but it is well calculated to assure us of the ease with which the permanence of our power may be maintained against military mutiny, caste, or deep rebellion, or even a combined revolt of dependent princes.

On the other hand, it may possibly happen that the leading men of India, educated at the colleges founded by us, trained to the exercise of authority in the country and corporate bodies and judicial tribunals created by us, will some day be ambitious enough and powerful enough to wrest from the small body of alien governors the supreme central authority. We must content ourselves with the belief that such a day is, at all events, far distant. A man with a ninety-nine year's lease does not grieve for the certain termination of his interest. Our lease will not be perpetual, but it will be long ; and when there are a sufficient number of leading men, so educated and so trained, and united enough to form a Native Government which will preserve to the people the peace, the laws, the administration of justice, the institutions and the liberties which they enjoy under our sway, we may well be content to leave to themselves a people, whose happiness we have thought it our sole duty to promote, from whom we have exacted no tribute and sought no advantage, except that interchange of mutual benefits which flow from an unrestricted commerce. We shall, meanwhile, do our duty by them as honest men. If, so doing, we lose them, because they are fit to take their own independent place as the greatest empire in the world, we shall lose them— if loss it can be called—without a blush and without a sigh."

A Digest of the Civil Law for the Punjab, chiefly based on the Customary Law as at present judicially ascertained. By W. H. Rattigan (Lincoln's Inn), Barrister-at-Law. Second Edition. Allahabad : Printed at the Office of the "Pioneer."

IN our notice of the first edition in the CXXXIX No. of this Review, we said, that the work would "be found interesting readinge, not only to students of law, but to students of human nature verywhere." We have now another edition of the work before us, in which the author tells us—

The first edition of this work having been exhausted within a very short time after publication, I have been induced, in compliance with several applications, to bring out a new and revised edition much earlier than I would, under ordinary circumstances, have thought of doing.

The present edition is annotated up to date, certain typographical errors in the first edition have been corrected, and some additional principles have been added to the text : in other respects I have not found it necessary to make any material alterations.

A Manual of the Geology of India, Part III. Economic Geology.—By V. Ball, M.A., F.G.S., Officiating Deputy Superintendent, Geological Survey of India. Published by order of the Government of India, Calcutta. Sold at the Office of the Geological Survey of India. London : Trübner & Co., 1881.

THIS third volume of a Manual of the Geology of India would go a long way to justify the existence of the Survey were any justification needed. The Economic Geology of India is here fully dealt with historically and scientifically so as to leave no source of information untraversed. The mass of wood-cuts are splendidly executed, and an appendix, A to G, with a general index leaves nothing to be desired. We regard this volume as one of the most valuable issued by the Government in recent years dealing, as it does, with the mineral resources of India. Those who wish to assist in the developing of India's mineral wealth will obtain accurate and detailed information regarding every mineral deposit in the Peninsula. We venture to think that had the Government called for a full report on the gold deposits of Southern India from the officers of the Survey, the gold mining craze would scarcely have attained the magnitude it has. Mr. Ball is to be congratulated on the successful completion of a work which has engaged his attention for years. The volume may be had for five rupees : some of the maps alone are worth the money. The following account of the native method of extracting iron ore is interesting.

The following account is given as being typical of the method generally, but by no means universally, practised in Western Bengal, Orissa, and the adjoining districts of the Central Provinces.

The furnaces of the Agarias are built of mud and are about 3 to 4 feet high, tapering from a diameter of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet at base to $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot at top. The hearth is a rounded cavity, which is about 10 inches in diameter, and the circular shaft above it is 6 inches in diameter. A bed of charcoal having been rammed down into the hearth, ignited charcoal is placed above it, and the shaft is filled with charcoal. The blast is produced by a pair of kettledrum-like bellows, consisting of hollowed drums of wood, with goats' skins attached, and nozzles of bamboo. The skins are elevated by the tension afforded by the sticks with strings attached, which are stuck into the ground as represented in the plate. By throwing his weight alternately from one side to the other the operator, who stands on the leather, overcomes the tension, and his heels act as stoppers to the valves which admit the air into the bellows.

In the cases figured, additional weight is given to the bellows by the operators' wives standing behind them. The bamboos which convey the blast are luted into clay tuyeres, which are themselves luted into the front of the furnace. The blast is, when once started, kept up for six hours, the people engaged changing places from time to time. Powdered ore is sprinkled in alternate layers with charcoal on the top of the charcoal in the shaft, as soon as it is fairly ignited, and as slag is formed, it is tapped by a hole, which is every time pierced for the purpose in the side of the hearth, at different levels as the smelting proceeds, and is again closed with lumps of well-kneaded clay. For ten minutes before the conclusion of the process the supply of ore and fuel from the top is stopped, and the bellows are worked with extra vigour.

The clay luting of the hearth is then broken down, and a *giri*, or ball of semi-molten iron, including slag and half-burnt charcoal, is taken out and immediately hammered, by which a considerable proportion of the included slag, which is still in a state of fusion, is squeezed out, and the ball is then half-cut in two to show the quality of the iron. In some cases, by several reheatings in open furnaces and by hammering, the Agarias refine this into iron fit for market, but in others they dispose of the *giri* to the *lohars* who work it up into bars. Although the trade in iron is a profitable one to the merchants, nothing can exceed the miserable state of indigence of the Agarias, who, in spite of their working hours being sometimes from 12 to 15 hours long, when they can make two *giris*, earn barely sufficient to keep them alive. Four annas is a common price paid for one of these *giris*, which represents the outcome, not only of the labour of several persons for six hours at the furnace, but also the labour of collecting ore and fuel, &c. In many cases, too, they have to pay royalty out of this miserable wage.

The following anonymous account of the Panna diamond mines has been extracted from an Indian newspaper by Mr. Ball.

"The finances of the Maharaja are principally derived from his diamond and iron mines, and the following particulars as to how the mines are worked will prove interesting.

"In granting licenses to natives the invariable rule of the Raja is to restrict the claim to diamonds below six *ratīs* in weight, on which a percentage of Rs. 25 of upwards is charged. The party is then allowed to search in any spot within the territory, excepting such as are given to Brahmins for sacred purposes or are reserved for the Ranis, or other relatives of the Chief. The mines of Kalmura (or Kamariya) and Panna are the most celebrated, and are excavated to a depth of from 15 to 50 feet. They lie within the bounds of the rocky matrix. Those at Majgama have also been very imperfectly used, the mining not going below 50 feet, at which depth the water overflows and the *tuadars* (or masters of the mines) are compelled to stop at this limit, for want of a method to pump them dry. The *chila* and superficial mines are to be traced all over the diamond tract, manual labour being cheap, as the poorest subjects of the State work them. From the commencement of the rains to the beginning of the cold season the mining goes on, since a plentiful supply of water can be had in all parts of the State—an article highly necessary to facilitate the search, as the matrix, after being dug out, is placed by small quantities in a trench, and then washed to clear it of the clay which adheres to it. A spot on the surface of the mine is made smooth with the hand, and on it the gravel is spread, and a diligent search made for the diamonds. Almost three-fourths of the people of Panna and the adjacent villages derive their living by working either for themselves or as hired labourers for others. When employed on their own account, it is not unusual to hear them complain of no luck for months and months. Indeed, I never knew a native during the short time I was in the State, who said he had found a diamond, but I was told that the following is the way natives carry on when at the mines. The avarice of the predecessor of the present Maharaja of Panna knew no bounds. The mines being the chief source whence his revenues were obtained, the native *tuadars* were never spared when they found diamonds, but had the most unreasonable taxes imposed upon them. This mischievous system, and the impolitic rule that all diamonds above six *ratīs* become the *bonâ fide* property of the Maharaja, seem to have engendered in speculators a vindictive spirit, not only to evade the heavy duties, but to cheat the State of the produce of the mines altogether. Every poor *tuadar* has a petty banker, who supports his constituents and his family with the necessities of life, on the understanding that every diamond found by them should

be sold to him, out of the amount of which he is to pay himself. In fact, a *tuadar* of the lower order is but an instrument to enable the mahajans to rob the Maharaja, and it is a well-known fact that though these harpies hoard up wealth through the medium of their artful constituents, they will on all occasions, in order to evade suspicion, plead poverty and distress, whilst they carry on a clandestine trade of diamonds between Mizapur, Benares, Allahabad, and Jabalpur. Some years ago, one of these Mahajans was detected in defrauding the State of diamonds during a long series of years to the amount of Rs. 43,000. He was imprisoned and threatened with punishment, and to avert this he refunded Rs. 16,000 and acknowledged having embezzled to the extent mentioned. It is well known that the Maharaja is robbed of large and valuable diamonds yearly. I believe only one European has ever tried working at the Panna mines, and this was in 1833, when a license was granted him, and the following were the terms in his license:—On diamonds of 1 to 7 *ratīs*, 15 per cent. on the value; from 7 to 10 *ratīs*, 33 per cent.; from 10 to 15 *ratīs*, 50 per cent.; from 15 to 20 *ratīs*, 66 per cent.; from 20 *ratīs* and upwards *bonâ fide* the property of the Maharaja, he having the option to reward the *tuadars* as he pleases. The expenses for working the mines at that time were as follow:—

For one month with 20 sets of labourers—

			Rs.
20 Bildars at Rs. 2 per month	...	...	40
15 Waterwomen do.	...	...	30
4 Sepoys at Rs. 3	...	...	12
Implements for digging, &c.	...	...	40
		Total	122

“It shows how cheap labour was in those days, whereas at this time bildars are getting Rs. 12 and Rs. 14 a month. The European (his name is not given, and I copy from an old Government record) says:—In embarking in this enterprise, the chief evil to be guarded against is theft. A strict eye should be kept over the labourers during the hours of their work, as they not only pilfer and conceal these stones in the very mines they are working, but will, in cases of emergency, swallow them! It is said, that before the British supremacy became paramount in these parts, delinquents of this description have suffered death rather than confess having stolen the gems which have afterwards been discovered in the ashes of their remains.”

Records of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. XV, Part 2.

To be had of the Geological Survey Office, Indian Museum; at the Office of the Superintendent Government Printing, Calcutta; London: Trübner & Co.

THE publication continues to exhibit all the qualities which ought to characterize a publication of the kind. The contributions are in every respect worthy of the great Survey of India in which the writers are engaged. There are in all eight articles, the one on the Sapphires recently discovered in the North-West Himalayas may, perhaps, have the most interest to the general reader. The maps, of which there are three are models of clearness and neatness of execution. There are four parts

published in a year at an annual subscription of two rupees. Without exception, it is the cheapest two rupees worth that can be had in India.

The Religions of India, by A. Bartt, Member of the *Société Asiatique* of Paris; authorized translation by Rev. J. Wood, Edinburgh. London: Trübner & Co., London.

“THE Religions of India” first appeared in the year 1879 as an article in the *Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses* published in Paris. The author states his objects to be as follows:—

My aim in composing it was to present, to that class of readers who take interest in questions of historical theology, but who happen to have no special acquaintance with Indianist studies, a *résumé*, which should be as faithful and realistic as possible, of the latest results of inquiry in all provinces of this vast domain. At first I thought I might comprise all I had to say in some fifty pages; but I soon saw that within a space so limited, the work I had undertaken, and which I intended should assume the form of a statement of facts rather than of a series of speculative deductions, would prove absolutely superficial and be sure to give rise to manifold misapprehensions. This first difficulty was easily got over through the friendly liberality of the Editor of the *Encyclopédie*, for, as soon as aware of it, he handsomely offered to concede to me whatever space I might need. Other difficulties remained, however, besides those connected with the subject in itself—which is one of boundless extent and intricacy, and which no special work, so far as I knew, had as yet treated at once as a whole and in detailed particularity—those, *viz.*, which arose out of the general plan of the work in which my sketch was to appear as an article. The *Encyclopédie* admitted only of a small number of divisions into chapters, and no notes. I had not, therefore, the resource of being able to relegate my *impedimenta* to the foot of the pages, a resource which in such a case was almost indispensable, since I had to address a reader who was not a specialist, and I was myself averse to be obliged to limit myself to a colourless and inexact statement.

The author's views regarding the Rig-Veda are not precisely those which are generally accepted. This is what he says:—

“In it I recognise a literature that is pre-eminently sacerdotal, and in no sense a popular one; and from this conclusion I do not, as is ordinarily done, except even the Hymns, the most ancient of the documents. Neither in the language nor in the thought of the Rig-Veda have I been able to discover that quality of primitive natural simplicity which so many are fain to see in it. The poetry it contains appears to me, on the contrary, to be of a singularly refined character and artificially elaborated, full of allusions and reticences of pretensions to mysticism and theosophic insight; and the manner of its expression is such as reminds one more frequently of the phraseology in use among certain small groups of initiated than the poetic language of a large community. And these features I am constrained to remark is characteristic of the whole collection; not that they assert themselves with equal emphasis in all the Hymns—the most abstruse imaginings being not without their moments of simplicity of conception; but there are very few of these Hymns which do not show some trace of them, and it is always difficult to find in the book, and to extract a clearly defined portion of perfectly natural and simple conception. In all these

respects the spirit of the Rig-Veda appears to me to be more allied than is usually supposed to that which prevails in the other Vedic collections, and in the Bráhmans.

M. A. Bartt does not accept the generally received opinion that Vedic and Aryan are synonymous terms, nor is he quite sure how far we are right in speaking of a Vedic people, the whole subject is handled in a very full and able manner. For ourselves we should certainly have much preferred that the extensive bibliography of the subject had been given in a succinct appendix rather than it is, strewed in foot-notes over the whole volume.

The Himalayan Districts of North-West Provinces, Vol. I. Forming Volume X of the Gazetteer of the North-West Provinces; by Edwin T. Atkinson, B.A., F.R.G.S. Allahabad, North-Western Provinces and Oudh : Government Press, 1882.

THIS volume consists of nearly 950 pages devoted to such subjects as the physical geography of the Himalayas, the Geology, Meteorology, Minerology and the Botany, economic and scientific, of the great region classed under the title of the Himalayan districts. It is needful only to mention the names of the gentlemen whose assistance has been sought, in the great work of which this volume is but an instalment, to ensure that the work is full and accurate. An unpublished work of General Richard Strachey of the geography of the Himalayas has been made special use of. Mr. H. B. Medlicott, Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, prepared the chapter on Geology. Dr. King of the Calcutta Botanic Gardens furnished the list of the *flora* of Western Garhwál, Dehra Dun, and Jamsar Bawar, and Dr. Watson the list for Eastern Garwal, Kumaon and the Bhábar. General Strachey and Mr. Winterbottom furnish a list of plants bordering on Tibet which is edited by Mr. F. Duthie, Superintendent of the Botanic Gardens at Saháranpur, who also wrote the sketch of the Tea industry in the Himalayan districts. Mr. R. N. Cust suggested, in 1866, the preparation of a "Catalogue *raisonné* of every kind of printed information connected with the North-Western Provinces." A series of references in continuation of this has been collected, illustrating the resources of the Himalayas from Assam to Afghanistan; these alone occupy nearly twenty closely printed pages. The volume is in every respect worthy of the Government of India, and reflects great credit on every one who has been concerned in its production. The maps and illustrations, of which there are five, are carefully got up.

The following short extract regarding the use and effects of opium may be interesting at the present time :—

The cultivation of the poppy is a Government monopoly, and is chiefly confined to the plains. The capsules, whilst immature, yield by incision a

juice which, on solidification, is known as the opium of commerce. When ripe or dried they yield an intoxicating liquor by inspissation. The use of the drug was known to the ancients, and some say that it was the *pharmakon nepenthes* of Homer. Dr. Royle considers that it was introduced into India from Persia, and in this suggestion he may, perhaps, be correct, as the common names for opium are of Persian origin. The *Atu-i-Akbari* refers to the opium monopoly in Sirkars Kora (Fatehpur district), Allahabad, and Gházipur in the time of Akbar, and we know that from time immemorial the opium poppy has been cultivated in Nepál and Kumaon.

The three principal preparations of poppy in use are the *abkari* or excise opium, *madak* and *chandū*. The first is supplied from the Gházipur factory, and is sold at the rate of sixteen rupees per seer of eighty tolas. As a rule, *abkari* opium is taken in the form of pills, but many soak the preparation in water for some hours and drink the solution thus formed, leaving the impurities at the bottom of the cup: very moderate consumers take about one tola or 180 grains Troy, or 11·662 grammes per month, and the average consumption of habitual opium-eaters may be set down at five tolas each per mensem. In some cases as much as two tolas a day are taken boiled in milk. Opium-smoking has of late years increased very much in these provinces. The results are the same as in other countries, the drug inducing stupor, reverie, and voluptuous listlessness. Still the individual can easily be roused to business, and, unless taken in excess, the effects are not more injurious or lasting than those attendant upon a too liberal indulgence in spirituous liquors. The temptations to excess are, perhaps, stronger in the case of opium, and with over-indulgence come sickness, constipation, indigestion, want of appetite, emaciation, impotency, and premature old age. In small doses as far as one grain, opium when eaten acts as a stimulant, increases the pulse in strength and frequency, and excites the mind by a happy train of thought. It is believed to promote digestion, and for this purpose it is taken usually in the afternoon or evening, so that its effect may come on before the time for the evening meal. This condition is however succeeded by drowsiness, thirst and loss of appetite, and the habitual eater then increases his dose, when after a smoke of tobacco from the *kukka* the excitement again begins and is followed by a period of stupor and eventually a profound sleep, "the pupils are slightly contracted, the pulse slow and full, the breathing slow, and the temperature of the body somewhat increased." Beyond four grains to healthy persons not accustomed to opium, it may be considered to act as a poison. Milk is taken by opium-eaters to keep the bowels open, and as in the case of *bhang*, and, indeed, spirits, when once the habit of using the drug has been fixed, it is almost impossible to shake it off. *Kalárs* and men who have much trying physical labour to get through in a short space of time can frequently take large doses without apparent injury.

Madak and *chandū* are forms of opium extensively used in these provinces.

In preparing them the opium is first reduced to a watery extract, which is then strained two or three times through cloth, and afterwards boiled over a slow fire until it thickens somewhat. The impurities left in the process of straining are again washed and strained two or three times to extract any portions of the active principle which may remain. The refuse, called *joga*, is then thrown away and the residuum of pure extract of opium that remains is called *kimam* and forms the basis of both *madak* and *chandū*. One seer of excise opium yields a little more than half a seer of *kimam*. To make *madak* the leaves of the guava, *pán*, or, in some cases, the rose are collected and cut into very fine pieces, and then boiled in water. When they become soft, they are strained in a cloth and dried, and then fried on

an iron pan over a slow fire. These leaves thus prepared are called *jesu*, and equal quantities of *jesu* and *kimam* form *madak*. This preparation is made up into small pills about the size of a pea, which sell in the retail shops for a pice each. The consumer buys those pills, breaks one of them into six to twelve parts, which are called '*chittas*,' each of which serves for one operation or whiff. The ordinary *hukha* is used, but the *chillam* or upper portion for receiving the drug and fire is much smaller. The *chitta* is placed on the *chillam* and lighted by a charcoal pencil, and the smoke is taken inwards in one inspiration and swallowed. The result is considerable pleasurable excitement, which, as it begins to wear off, is renewed by consuming another *chitta* until satiety is produced. One pill is sufficient to intoxicate a new smoker, but many consume a dozen pills with impunity.

The basis of *chandu* is the same *kimam* from which *madak* is made, but instead of leaves, the half-burned ashes of the *chittas* of *madak* are mixed with the *kimam* in equal quantities, and the resulting compound is called *chandu*. For this preparation there is a particular pipe made of wood, and about twelve to fifteen inches long. A small brass or tin bowl is fixed towards one end and communicates with the stem by a small aperture. The *chandu* formed into a paste and made up into pills is placed in the bowl, and this is lighted from a lamp and gives a gurgling noise while burning. The smoker reclines on a pillow with his eyes closed, and the pipe is lighted by an attendant and refilled when necessary. Like the *madak*-smoker, the *chandu*-smoker takes in all the smoke arising from one application of the *chandu* by one deep inspiration and swallows it. After every inspiration there must be a rest, and the heated tongue is moistened by chewing sugarcane, or by the application of a rag moistened in sherbet. Two or three applications are sufficient to affect a beginner, but there are many who can doze away over pipes of *chendu* the whole day. The effect of *madak* and *chandu* smoking is equally pernicious with opium-eating, with this difference that intoxication supervenes at a much earlier period, because the smoke containing the active principle of the opium is directly absorbed by the blood in the lungs, and being carried into the circulation acts, at once, on the brain; whilst in eating opium the process of solution, absorption, and digestion is much slower. Muhammaçons are by far the greater smokers and eaters of opium as compared with the Hindús, and they make up by indulgence in this vice for the prohibition of spirituous liquors. Love of sexual intercourse has much to do with inordinate indulgence in opium, and for a time, like the preparation of hemp, it acts as a powerful aphrodisiac, but in the end it induces impotency and leaves the opium-drunkard a physical and moral wreck, utterly careless for the present or the future and a mere semblance of a human machine.

Buddha and Early Buddhism, by Arthur Lillie (late Regiment of Lucknow), with numerous illustrations drawn on wood by the author. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1881.

MR. ARTHUR LILLIE'S book is a very suggestive one, full of curious facts, implying wide reading and a wide knowledge of his subject. It is, however, eminently heterodox. The writer endeavours to show that the influence of Buddha is apparent in every existing religion, even amongst the North American Indians. The book is a very ingenious one and will repay perusal.

Essay on the National Custom of British India known as Caste, Varna, or Fate. By Robert Needham Cust, Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, Member of the British Foreign Bible Society, &c., &c.

MR. CUST'S pamphlet on Caste consists of two parts, namely, "Caste in the world," which was delivered as a lecture before the National Indian Association in 1879, and caste in the Christian Church, contributed to "Mission Life" in 1881. The two papers are highly interesting as giving the convictions of a gentleman who passed many years in India under the best conditions for acquiring an intimate and exact knowledge of the people. Mr. Cust believes that Protestant Missionaries are unreasonable in denouncing caste, and says that it is vain to run counter to the deep currents of human opinion. Caste institution, he considers, will last as long as the world lasts.

Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Notice of the scholars who have contributed to the extension of our knowledge of the languages of British India during the last thirty years. By R. N. Cust, Honorary Librarian, Royal Asiatic Society.

WITHIN the limits of some ten pages Mr. Cust gives the results of the last thirty years' advance in our knowledge of the languages of British India. The pamphlet should be in the hands of all interested in the subject.

A son of Belial. Autobiographical Sketches, by Nitram Tradley. London, Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill.

A SON of Belial is the story of a boy brought up in the strictly religious observances of a sect of English dissenters. The book is written with a considerable amount of cleverness, and several of the nursery scenes are comical enough.

The Indian Sunday School Manual, specially adapted to Sunday School work in India. By T. J. Scott, D. D. A centennial Volume. Lucknow : Methodist's Episcopal Church Press.

THE Indian Sunday School Manual is dedicated to all Sunday School workers in India ; and contains a great deal of sound advice and information suitably to those engaged in the work,

Indian Meteorological Memoirs, being occasional discussions and compilations of Meteorological data relating to India and the neighbouring countries. Published by order of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council under the direction of Henry F. Blanford, F.R.S., Meteorological Reporter to the Government of India, Vol. I. Calcutta : Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1876-1881.

THE series of volumes of which this is the first "is intended as a vehicle for the publication of such portion of the work of the officers of the Indian Meteorological Department as do not form part of the regular Annual Report on the Meteorology of India." In the present volume there are in all twelve subjects taken up, ranging from the winds of Calcutta to the Meteorology of the North-West Himalaya. The Student of Meteorology will find the volume a highly interesting one, the papers evince a large amount of patient observation.

Hindu Tribes and Castes : Together with three dissertations on the Natural History of Hindu Caste ; the Unity of the Hindu Races, and the prospects of Indian Caste ; and including a General Index of the three volumes, by the Rev. M. A. Sherring, M.A., L.L.B., London, &c., Vol. III. Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co., 1881.

THIS is the concluding volume of the great work of Mr. Sherring, the first volume of which appeared in 1872, and the last now appears nearly a year after the death of the author. The volume exhibits the same care, the same minuteness and accuracy of detail which characterised its predecessors. The tribes dealt with in this volume are the tribes and castes of Rajputana and of the Madras Presidency. Part III contains the dissertations, two of which appeared in our columns, the former, the Natural History of Hindu Caste, in the July 1880 number of the *Calcutta Review*, and the second, in the October 1880 number. Sherring's Hindu tribes and Caste, will long remain the standard reference work on the subject with which it deals.

The Renaissance of Islamite civilisation, by D. Hosain Ahmed, B.A., Calcutta : Caxton Press, No. 1, Mission Row.

THE author of the foregoing is well known for his liberal and advanced views which he, from time to time, puts forward in periodic essays of considerable value as expressing the views of

the advanced section of Mohammadan society. The following passages indicates the scope of the author's arguments :—

The fact is that the practice of polygamy prevented the evolution of the idea of primogeniture. For a mother, though she may give away everything to an eldest son when he is her own son, can never consent that her stepson should get all her husband's property and rank. The result is that in Mohammadan countries there are always two parties aspiring to the throne. Some nobles take the part of one wife of the reigning sovereign—some the part of another wife. Those Ameers who are deprived of their Jâgeers are always ready to foment disunion and contention—for their chance of a re-grant of the escheated estates increases with the increased chance of mutual warfare among the various princes; and every prince who successfully fought his brothers seized the Jâgeers of those Ameers that had taken the part of his rivals and rewarded those that had followed his own fortunes.

The sure expectancy of a share of his father's estate makes the Mohammadan gentleman ordinarily apathetic and frivolous; he feels no motive for exertion—he feels no necessity to control his tastes. He fails to acquire the discipline necessary to increase wealth or the knowledge necessary to preserve it. Imprudence and want of energy, ignorance and frivolous tastes soon dissipate the little property which he inherits from his father. A law of Wills may not now be necessary among Englishmen, but among the Mohammadians of India it is absolutely necessary for several generations to come.

A law perpetuating landed property either in the shape of a law of primogeniture or a law of Wills, must be useful to us in several ways. *First*, the evils arising from the certainty of getting a share of property at the owner's death will gradually diminish. Apathy will give place to energy—the necessity of controlling our tastes will be felt—and prudence will become the rule and improvidence the exception. In other words, our mental capacity will be developed, and our moral nature improved.

The Law of Testamentary Succession among the Mohammadans of India. By D. Hosain Ahmed, B. A., Calcutta: Caxton Press, No. 1, Mission Row

THIS pamphlet is marked by the same broad suggestive views which are distinctive of all the author's productions. The following passage indicates very surley the direction in which advanced Mohammdan thought is tending :—

It is not because the Christian conception of God is loftier, or the Christian conception of morality is purer, that Christian nations are rapidly increasing their wealth, improving their knowledge, and consolidating their independence. It is because Islâm is not only a religion but is also a social system, that Mohammadan countries are one by one losing their independence. Christianity did not appoint the relation between man and man, and therefore this relation is from time to time re-adjusted as changing circumstances require, and thus the progress of humanity continues unchecked. But Islâm prescribed the relation between man and man, as well as laid down the relation of man to God; so that in Mohammadan countries the re-adjustment of social relations demanded by change of conditions is absolutely prevented. And this absence of re-adjustment is the cause of the decline of Mohammadan civilisation and Mohammadan independence.

It is high time, therefore, that men of reflection amongst us should point out to the Mohammadans of India, the means of dissociating the Religion of Islâm, which is thoroughly transcendental and therefore immutable, from

its social system, which is no more than relational, and is therefore not only modifiable, but requires to be constantly modified. And do what we may, Mohammadan communities will continue to decline in the scale of civilisation until they are able to separate Civil Law from Religion--until they are able to add legislative functions to the State, so as to empower it to make alterations in our Shará.

For at present the State in countries governed by Mohammadan sovereigns has no legislative functions whatever ; in Mohammadan countries the sovereign never has any motive or occasion to consult a legislative body. This want of the necessity of a consultative body has prevented the rise of a representative body in the State--has prevented the development of representative or popular institutions. The result is that no Mohammadan people has never been able to provide any check against the arbitrary power of the king--no Mohammadan king has ever been able to identify himself with the people.

No Mohammadan State will be able to represent the people--no Mohammadan people will become an united nation --no Mohammadan nation will be able to make any real or durable progress until it should become a constant practice among Mohammadans to modify their domestic and social institutions and their civil and political laws, or to *innovate* upon all those subjects that do not fall within the scope of Religion in its purest sense.

Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education. Washington : Government Printing Press, 1881.

THESE circulars of Information are issued at intervals by the American Government for the purpose, as their name implies, of difusing information on educational matters amongst not only those engaged in the work of teaching in all grades, but also for the general information of the great body of the citizens of the United States. The circulars are admirably written and highly interesting, ranging over such subject as the following : The construction of Library Buildings, the Relation of Education to Industry and Technical training in American schools, the Proceedings of the Department of Superintendence of the National Educational Association held at New York during February 1881, English Rural Schools, and the Spelling Reform,—these circulars should be in the hands of all engaged or interested in the progress of education.

Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1879, Parts I and II. Washington : Government Printing Office, 1881.

THESE bulky reports state fully the condition of education in the United States of America. It is quite impossible within our limits to give any adequate conception of the amount and kind of information contained in this and the foregoing publications. They are of the very highest value, and of great interest as comparing the position of the United States of America with that of other countries in the matter of education.

Algebraical Exercises with solutions for Students preparing for the Entrance Examination of the Indian Universities. By Sarat Chandra Mukerjee, M.A., B.L., ex-Scholar, Presidency College, Calcutta, and Head Master, Canning College, Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co., 1881. New Edition, revised and enlarged.

THE exercises in the above little work will be found well suited for the purpose for which they are prepared. The present edition has undergone careful revision, and considerable improvement has been effected in several items over the first edition.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Bhāratbarsher Itihās. By Bālak Nāth Datta. Printed by Brajamādhav Basu, at the Sāptāhik Sambād Press, Bhowanipore. 1288, B. S.

THE author says in an English preface, that "a brief history of India in Bengali, adapted to the capacities of juvenile readers, is a desideratum." This, however, we do not understand. There are already several works on Indian history, "adapted to the capacities of juvenile readers." We will give a list of them :—

1. Bhāratbarsher Itihās, by Babu Krishna Chandra Rāya.
2. Do. by Pandit Rāmgati Nyāyratna.
3. Do. by Babu Rajani Kānta Gupta.
4. Do. by Babu Khīrod Chandra Rāya Chaudhuri.
5. Do. by R. C. Datta, Esq., C. S.
6. Do. by Babu Tārini Charan Chatterji.
7. Do. by Babu Nilmani Basāk.

How, in the face of this fact, Babu Bālak Nāth Datta can say that a brief work on Indian history for beginners is a "desideratum," we are at a loss to imagine. The fact seems to be that Babu Bālak Nāth, having nothing better to do, has written a schoolbook in the hope that the Department of Education will, with its usual grace and courtesy, enter his name on its long list of annuitants.

We are sorry we cannot speak in favor of this work as a historical text-book. We think that infinite mischief will be done to Bengali children if they are made to read it. It is full of mistakes. Speaking of the geographical divisions of India, the author says, that Rajputana and Malwa form the *Madhyadesa*. What does this *Madhyadesa* mean? Not Menu's *Madhyadesa* certainly, for the author is giving the modern geography of India; nor the Central Indian agency, for that is

not a geographical but a political division. In another place, the author, indeed, speaks of a *Madhyadesa* which is governed by a Chief Commissioner. But that *Madhyadesa* is the Central Provinces, which do not include Rajputana. The author says, elsewhere, that General Roberts lost one of his legs in the late Afghan war. This is the first time we learn that the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras army has but one leg to stand upon. The author's style is singularly un-Bengali. Take one or two specimens :—

(1.) রাজ্য পালনে অযোগ্য হেতু বৈত্তিক কর্তৃক হত রাজ্য মহীশূরাধিপতির প্রার্থনানুসারে ১৮৬৭ খৃঃাব্দে ফ্রেট সেক্রেটারী নর্থকোট সাহেব তাঁহাকে দত্তকপুত্র গ্রহণের ও প্রাপ্তবয়স্ক হইলে সেই পুত্রকে মহীশূর রাজ্য প্রত্যাগমনের আদেশ করেন ॥

(2.) লর্ডমেয়ো ১৮৬৯ অব্দের ২৫শে মার্চে অম্বালা নগরে অস্থিত এক প্রকাণ্ড দরবারে আহত, সুবিধ্যাত দোস্তো মহম্মদ খাঁর পুত্র সিয়্যার আলিকে সাদরে আহ্বান পূর্বক কাবেলের অধিপতি বলিয়া স্বীকার করেন ।

(3.) লর্ড লিটনের রাজত্বকালে কোন সময় এদেশীয় ভাষায় কোন কোন সংবাদ পত্রে এরূপ কোন কোন বিষয় মুদ্রিত হয়, বাহা পাঠ করিয়া গভর্ণমেন্টের প্রতি অশ্রদ্ধা, অভক্তি বা বিরাগ সঞ্চার কিম্বা সেই সকল বিষয়ে প্রজারা উত্তেজিত হইতে পারে &c.

We wonder how a book written in this style can be described as one which is "adapted to the capacities of juvenile readers." We sincerely trust that the Department of Education will not commit the folly of introducing this work as a text-book in our schools. Babu Bálak Náth's book is really a book written by a *bálak*.

Mahammad Mahsiner Jiban Charit. Translated and published by Pramath Náth Mitra. Printed by Nandalál Basu at the Sádharáni Press, Chinsurah.

THIS is a Bengali translation of a biographical notice of the founder of the Mohsin fund written in English by Babu Mahendra Chandra Mitra for a literary society in Hughli. Works of this kind are really very interesting ; and we should be glad to find educated Bengali gentlemen taking to authorship of this kind more largely than to the composition of bad poems, bad dramas, and bad romances. Mahammad Mohsin was a genuine mau, a great lover of men without distinction of creed or color, a large-hearted philanthropist, a man whose whole life was

passed in acquiring knowledge and alleviating human suffering. Babu Pramath Náth says :—

“ধর্মই তাঁহার জীবনের সার ছিল। আচারে ফকীর ছিলেন। তাঁহার মত আন্তরিক ধর্মপরায়ণ লোক তৎকালে পাওয়া বাইত কি না সন্দেহ। তিনি আজন্ম অবিবাহিত অবস্থায় যাপন করেন। বিবাহ এখায় তিনি বিরোধী ছিলেন। পারস্য সাহিত্য ও আরবীয় বিজ্ঞান আলোচনা করিয়া দিন যাপন করিতেন। প্রত্যহ কোরান হইতে অংশ বিশেষ নিজ হস্তে লিখিতেন। সর্বদাই ধর্মকর্মের রত থাকিতেন।”

A virtuous and benevolent man like Mahammad Mohsin is an honour to humanity, a moral power in society, a peace-maker between quarrelling sects, whose influence is stronger and healthier than even that of religion and its professors. And it is for this reason that in spite of his religion, the memory of Mahammad Mohsin is cherished with veneration and gratitude by Hindu and Musulman alike. Babu Pramath Náth has done well in publishing this Bengali version of the memoir of a man, whose life was full of useful lessons for his fellow-men, and who ought to be understood by all who have a rupee to spare after supplying their own necessities. Great philanthropists are great moral forces which dissipate those harmful jealousies and hatreds which spring from prejudice and bigotry, and which convert men into beasts. People understand each other better through the medium of a great heart, than through the medium of a great intellect.

Swarnalatá. Third Edition. Printed by Umesh Chandra Nandi, Sudhakar Press, 44, Russa Road, Bhowanipore.

THIS is the only true novel we have read in Bengali, Babu Bankim Chandra's works being poems, not novels; and we are therefore glad that it has passed through its third edition. Of its merits, we cannot speak too highly. In describing Bengali domestic life, in delineating real character, in sketching ordinary scenes, the author of *Swarnalatá*, Babu Tárak Náth Gánguli, is without a rival among Bengali writers of fiction. He is a close observer of men and manners, and he has a faculty, which seems to be exclusively his, for working up ordinary materials into a highly effective picture. As specimens of character-painting, his *Pramadá*, his *Saralá*, his *Gadádhar*, his *Nilkamal*, his *Syámá*, and his *Sasánkasekhara* are the best of their kind in Bengali literature. Babu Tárak Nath seems also capable of highly successful efforts at ideal representation. His *Saralá* is almost an ideal character, and his story of *Gopál* and *Swarnalatá* possesses a strong ideal cast. As a painter of real ordinary life, both in its comic and in its serious

and tragic side, Babu Tárak Náth is unrivalled among Bengali authors ; and we are therefore all the more desirous to read other works from his pen. We trust he will not sit quiet, but go on enriching his country's literature, and showing the strong and the weak points in the social and domestic system of Bengal in pictures as true and bright and effective as those that are collected in such abundance in the work under notice.

Arya-gáthá. By Dwijendralál Ráya. Printed at the Metropolitan Press, and published by Sarat Kumár Láhiri, 1882, A. D.

THIS is a book of songs, chiefly expressive of the author's patriotic sentiments as the member of a community who have lost their political independence and fallen from their high intellectual position. We must confess that we do not feel much respect for those idle and vociferous Bengali declaimers, not poets, who rend the skies with their patriotic yells. But Babu Dwijendralál, though he writes about India's lost greatness, is not of the vociferous brotherhood, and often writes true poetry. He seems to have a heart that is capable of inspiration. His manner is poetical. He possesses the true poetic instinct. Many of his verses breathe poetry.

Sáyan-chintá. By Saroj Kánta Mukhopádhyáya. H. M. Mukherji & Co., 42, Zig-Zag Lane, Calcutta, 1882.

THIS poem is written by a young Begali Babu, who seems to think that poetry means mystification. The following is a paraphrase of one of Nanak's devotional songs, reproduced in a slightly altered form, without acknowledgment :—

এস সন্ধ্যা ! তুমি আমি বসি এ বিজনে
পূজি বিশ্ব মলাধারে, অনাদি কারণে ।
এস হে সন্ন্যাস সখে ! চামরটুলাও,
অমল-মঙ্গল-গান, বিহঙ্গম,—গাও,
উপহার পুষ্পভার কানন,—চরণে,
করণে—আরতি মিলি বত দিগন্ধনে,
ছড়া ও মলয়ানীল ! ধূপ পরিমল,
বাজা ও হৃন্দুভিঙ্কনি পসি গিরিহুল,
দোলাও বিটপিহুল !

Malliká Mangal. By Cháru Chandra Mukhopádhyáya. Published by H. M. Mukherji & Co., 42, Zig-Zag Lane, Calcutta, 1881.

THIS is a small opera describing the marriage of a flower. The characters introduced are flowers, bees, star-light,

wind, &c. The conception of the poem is of the most light and airy kind, and there are in some of the scenes many delicate touches.

Sabhār Kārya Nirbaha Bisayak Bidhi, Bhowanipore Press, Bhowanipore.

THIS is a Bengali translation of Mr. Palgrave's *Chairman's Hand-book*. The translator is Babu Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, one of our most able contributors, and whose name is a guarantee that the version has been all that could be desired. Babu Jogendra Chandra's object in translating Mr. Palgrave's book must commend itself to all sensible Indians. Parliamentary procedure is the model upon which all committee procedure is based; and as committees framed after the English type are now acquiring much importance in the transaction of Indian affairs, and will acquire still more importance when Lord Ripon's scheme of self-government is carried into effect: it is necessary that Indians should study parliamentary procedure with a view to qualify themselves for the work which the Government proposes to entrust to them. Indeed, the success of a Municipal Board, constituted upon Lord Ripon's plan, will depend very largely upon the knowledge of procedure which is acquired or possessed by its members. We therefore feel it our duty, as men who are interested in the success of Lord Ripon's scheme, to call upon every Indian, who feels similarly interested, to study Babu Jogendra Chandra's book, and *inform* himself in a way which will enable him to do any work which he may be called upon to perform in connection with the new scheme of Municipal Government in the style and spirit in which it should be done.

Koran Shureef. Parts I, II and III. Printed at the Charu Press, Town Sherpur, by Tārini Charan Biswās. 1288, B.S.

TWO or three attempts to translate the Koran into Bengali have already failed. This is a new attempt, but it promises to be successful. In the first place, this translation is being published at Sherpur, in Zilla Mymensing, a place of great literary activity and enterprise in Bengal. In the second place, the translator says, that he has studied Arabic for several years solely with the view of qualifying himself for the work which he has now begun. A work which is undertaken after so much laborious preparation, and with such persistency of purpose, cannot fail to be a success. And we do feel confident that the work which has been so resolutely commenced, will be gloriously completed. We have the assurance of many learned Moulavis that the translation is excellent.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Principles of the Hindu Law of Inheritance ; being the Tugore Lectures for 1880. By Rajkumar Sarvadhikari, B. L., Canning College, Lucknow : Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co. 1882.

PROFESSOR Sarvadhikari has produced under the above title a most acceptable addition to the literature of Hindu Law. Of the origin of this law, in general, he gives a useful summary ; and using, as he does, the aid not only of eminent European Sanskritists, but also of the great modern thinkers, Maine and Herbert Spencer, he has given a substantial contribution to the philosophic history of the subject. The work, of course, has its practical side also ; and many to whom these things are indifferent may use his *Lectures* as a text-book. But as literary critics we shall here confine ourselves to a slight analysis of the work from a purely literary point of view.

The Aryan doctrine of succession is based upon an early though a deeply scientific view of life. No man stands alone : his ancestors live in him as he in turn will have posthumous life in any posterity that may follow him. Hence arose a respect for the memory of the dead which, originating in Central Asia, characterised alike the Western emigration and the races who remained stationary or moved to the South. To this day, even among the more progressive of European nations, the English for example, survivals of the custom of ancestor-worship can be observed. There, as our author observes, it is no longer connected with a legal obligation, for "the point of development at which law breaks away from religion has been passed." But in the older nations of Europe, while the influences of their common Asiatic memories still lingered, and before the majestic figure of Roman jurisprudence had arisen to place the pronouncing and enforcing of law alike under the sole power of the secular sovereign, whether in Italy or in Greece, the ancient system long endured. Readers of Roman history remember the old Patricians with their mysterious tribal *Sacra*, and the *Comitia* which, long after it had lost political authority, continued to have a sacramental function for the tribes. Among the Greeks the

performance of funeral rites for a deceased kinsman was necessary before his spirit could enter the Elysian fields. The Persians, as represented by the modern Parsis, held similar views of the matter.

Not that any of these systems,—including that of the Vedic Aryans themselves—contemplated the intricate ceremonies practised by modern Hindus, or the complicated “statute of distributions” which has ensued. “A child-like simplicity,” we are told, in the 2nd Lecture, “pervades, in the earlier books of the Rig Veda, the spirit of the hymns to ancestors, and we cannot believe but that the inspired sages of ancient India never dreamed of the elaborate systems of ancestor-worship invented in comparatively modern times by the followers of the Brahmanic faith.” It was not so much a special invocation of the members of a family who had gone before, as a kind of All-souls’ Day in which the progenitors of the tribe in general were summoned by the offering of such simple cakes as the living loved to partake of, and were supposed to hallow the feast by an invisible presence. Out of this, after the lapse of centuries, the ingenuity of priestly lawyers evolved the idea of the *Srâth*, a word which seems to point to denominational orthodoxy, and to furnish unmistakeable indications of a sacerdotal origin. Atheists are expressly excluded by the earliest authority on the subject, as are also sons who should avail themselves of the lawful but seemingly disapproved practice of partitioning the family estate during the father’s lifetime and against his will. “These were outcasts in Hindu society,” says the author, “and were looked upon with contempt.”

The duty and privilege of performing these funeral ceremonies devolved primarily upon the *Sapindas*; so called, either because they were regarded as of the same *body*, or because they were entitled to join in offering the same *cake*. The Professor tells us that the etymology is angrily contested among the Pandits; and not ours be it to determine such high debates. It seems, however probable that, be the derivation what it may, the word originally indicated only what in the earlier Roman law were called *agnates*, the offspring of male descendants of a common *pater familias*. But there came to be *Sapindas ex-parte materna* also, though there was always both a difference and an inferiority between the two classes. Our author at page 57 shows that the right of *Sapindaship* was confined to agnatic relations so late as the time of Manu, say about the date of the Christian era.

The special genesis of the particular form assumed by ancestor-worship in the Brahmanic order of things is thus accounted for. In the origin of the Aryan system the power of a father was absolute. Before Roman law becomes known to us, it

had already mitigated the worst features of this intolerable domestic despotism. But among the early Hindus it was maintained for a long period. Post-Vedic legends show us instances of the sale of sons by their fathers, even when it was known that the purchase was made for the ghastly purpose of human sacrifice. Out of this arose, as a first modification, the notion of the "joint undivided family," where the corporation has passed from an aggregate of passive slaves to a sort of trading firm managed by the father for the common benefit. It was in this stage that Roman law was when the disputes occurred—whatever they were, which led to the first attempt at codification: and from that happy expedient the ever-expanding society derived the impulse which enabled it to develop itself from homogeneous incoherence to the true model of an organic State. The Hindus, unhappily, from a variety of conditions, failed to obtain this organisation. Their needs were both fewer and less urgently felt: and they allowed the law to remain in the hands of the priests and to continue invested with a quasi-sacred character. Nevertheless their societies were too vast and energetic not to require some evolution: the rights of individuals asserted themselves to some extent—though in the interest of males and to the depression of females—and "communism had to make some concessions to individual rights."

Out of this compromise sprang the *Śrādh*, which is thus a useful turning-point in Hindu social history, showing that in the Post-Vedic times—and probably a century or two after the Macedonian invasion—occurred a great movement which originated modern Hindu social law. "The dignity of the individual was maintained, and his grievances were removed without injury to the corporate existence of the family." The father would thus live after he was dead, and receive in the grave that share of the love and joy of his children which his solitary greatness had forbidden him when above ground and presiding over the affairs of the corporation. The *Śrādh* became the synthesis of *patria potestas* with human weakness, and "the very corner-stone, as it were, of the Hindu Law of Inheritance."

Having devoted so much space to the general scope of the work, we may be pardoned for passing somewhat more hurriedly over the details. These, indeed, have for the most part less of literary interest than of technical value. By far the most important of the secondary topics is treated of in the 4th Lecture—that on "the sources of Hindu Law." Adopting the more sceptical and moderate chronological views which are gradually prevailing in Europe, Professor Sarvalbhikari notes that the most venerated source of Hindu Law in the code—if so

it may be called—of Manu. This is a quasi-poetical treatise, somewhat resembling the Brethon Law of Ireland; claiming to repose on Divine authority and the Rock of Ages; but in reality a semi-theoretical scheme, rather dealing with what ought to be than with what is; an ideal of great use and service, rather than an inflexible rule and standard for actual human conduct in all its details.

The actual Digests by which the evolution of modern Hindu life has been conducted (and by which the Courts that the modern Hindus owe to the wise and humane policy of foreign rulers are still guided) are two. The *Mitakshara*, prevalent in the less advanced parts of the country, where orthodoxy is strictest and social organisation least complicated; and the *Dayabhaga*, which is followed by the enlightened and energetic races of Lower Bengal. The *Mitakshara* is a good deal the earlier, as may be supposed; having been, in our author's opinion, composed at the end of the 11th century of the Christian era, just about the time of the first Muhamadan conquest. It rests upon evidence unusually good for Hindu history that the Chalukya monarch, Vikrama, at whose Court the work professes to have been written, was the son of a warlike ruler whose capital was at Kalyāna in the Deccan, about one hundred miles west of Haidarabad. Ancient coins and inscriptions show that he succeeded his father in A. D. 1076. Thus the great Digest which still governs three-fourths of the Hindu race, is the product of the very end of the independent Hindu period, when the great dramatic cycle also came to an end. The other leading law-book, the *Dayabhaga*—is of a much later date.

The origin of this important school is thus traced by our author. About the year 1325 A. D. a disciple of the *Mitakshara* school had set up a system of law in Tihut, which spread into the neighbouring districts. To combat this Jimatavahana undertook to write a treatise that should show what the law of Bengal was—or ought to be—and the *Dayabhaga* was the result of the undertaking. He showed that the teaching of the *Mitakshara* Doctors involved an interpretation of ancient texts that was untrue, or at least was obsolete, and inapplicable to his part of the country. "The other teachers," says our author, "cite precedents and authorities in support of their views; but Jimatavahana appeals to reason." In other words, he is a reformer, breaking through the pedantic conservatism of those who cling to the past and its traditions; and wise enough, or happy enough, to do so at the moment when the society to which he belonged was ready for the change. Future Indian jurists

must take his work as their point of departure; and though we are not of the number of those who would hurry on the codification of Indian law, especially by foreigners, we would recommend the *Dayabhaga* to the earnest attention of all concerns in law-making, present or to come, in this country. Referring to Prof. Sarvadhikari's book all who are, in the meantime, curious to see the details of development as shown by the Bengal school, we will here only note that it adopts the more liberal and progressive doctrines in regard to every subject on which there is a conflict between the schools.

H.G. K.

Tibetan Tales derived from Indian Sources. Translated from the Tibetan of the Kahl-Gyur, by F. Anton Von Schiefner, Done into English from the German, with an Introduction, by W. R. S. Ralston, M.A., London. Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, London, 1882.

THERE are in all fifty tales brought together in this volume of varying length and merit. All of them more or less bearing little or much resemblance to European Folk-tales already well known. Generally, the longer stories bear least resemblance to the shorter, most though all of them have features common both to Europe and Asia. Mr. Ralston in his introduction says that the tales contained in the sacred books of Tibet appear to have little that is specially Tibetan about them except their language. Stories, he says, possessing characteristic features and suffused with local color may possibly live in the memories of the natives of that region of lofty and bleak table-lands with which so few Europeans have had an opportunity of becoming familiar, but the legends and fables of the Tales from Tibetan sources here translated are merely Tibetan versions of Sanskrit writings. "No mention is made in them of those peculiarities of Tibetan Buddhism which have most struck the fancy of foreign observers. They never allude to the rosary of 108 beads which every Tibetan carries that he may keep a reckoning of his good words which supply to him the place of good deeds, the praying wheels, those curious machines which filled with prayers or charms or passages from holy books, stand in the towns on every open place, are placed beside the foot-paths and the roads, revolve in every stream, and even are turned by every breeze which blows." The actions and thoughts, then, of the people of Tibet, are not by any means fully represented in these tales, they are simple relics, mutilated, changed, augmented, curtailed of Sanskrit writings which represent a stage of civilization that can scarcely be said to exist at the present day in Tibet,

Nevertheless they have their value as folk-tales, and the translation here presented of F. Anton Schiefner's work could scarcely have fallen into better hands than those of Mr. Ralston. An Introduction of some sixty-four pages gives the leading facts in the lives of those scholars who have given their attention to gaining a knowledge of the Tibetan literature and language, as well as an analysis of the tales. As a specimen of the tales, though not by any means the most characteristic, we venture to reproduce "The jackal as calumniator."

"In long-past times there lived in a forest a lioness with her cub and a tigress with her cub. While the lioness was absent one day, her cub, while wandering about, came into the neighbourhood of the tigress. When the tigress saw it, she was going to kill it, but she changed her mind, seeing that the young lion might be a playfellow for her own cub, and so she began to give it suck. The lioness, on her return from her outing, not finding her young one, set to work to look for it, and at length saw the tigress suckling it. When the tigress perceived the lioness, she was frightened and began to run away. But the lioness cried out to the tigress, "O sister, run not away. Let us dwell together, so that, when I go out, you can take care of my young one, and when you go out, I will take care of yours." So they took to dwelling together, and they called the lion cub *Sudanshthra*, and the tiger cub *Subāhu*. And the two cubs grew up.

"After a time the lioness and the tigress fell ill, and when the time for their departure came, they said to the two young beasts, 'O children, as ye have both sucked the same dugs, be ye brothers. The world is full of evil calumniators, take heed after our death not to listen to any of them.'

"Now the young lion was wont to kill gazelles, and to devour their good flesh and lap their good blood, and then, having done this, to betake himself at once to his lair. But the young tiger, when he went out, underwent great fatigue in killing gazelles, and having devoured their flesh and lapped their blood, returned home after a long absence. One day the tiger devoured the remains of a meal which he had hidden away, and then returned quickly home. The lion asked, 'How is it that you, who never came back before till after a long time, have returned to-day so soon?' The tiger replied, 'I have eaten the stores which I had set aside.' The lion asked, 'Do you lay up stores, then?' The tiger said that it did. The lion said, 'When I have slain gazelles and eaten their good flesh and lapped their good blood, I am wont to go away without troubling myself further.' The tiger replied, 'You are strong. I cannot do like that.' The lion said, 'Let us go together.' So they took to going out together.

"Now an old, very malicious, remainder-devouring jackal, was in the habit of following after this lion, the king of the beasts. The jackal considered that the tiger was the antagonist of his maw, and that he must set those two animals at variance. So he came into the presence of the lion with drooping ears. The lion said, 'O uncle, has any hot wind arisen?'

"The jackal replied, 'O nephew, a very scorching wind has arisen.'

" 'What has happened then?'

"This tiger has said, 'Where has my lion-grass gone? As he leaves me to feed on remnants, I will assuredly kill him.'

"The lion replied, 'O uncle, our two mothers said to us just before they died, 'O children, as ye two have sucked the same dugs, be brothers. The world is full of evil calumniators. Take heed that after we are both dead, ye do not listen to any one among them. As they have left such a legacy behind them, do not you speak in that way.'

"The jackal said, 'As you will not listen to my well-meant words, you will come to ruin.'

"The lion said, 'O uncle, what will be the course of events?'

"The jackal replied, 'O nephew, the tiger will come forth from his lair, and will stretch himself, and after stretching he will yawn, and after yawning he will look round on all four sides, and after looking round on all four sides he will roar three times, and then come into your presence and think, 'He will kill me.' Be sure of this.'

"Afterwards the jackal went with drooping ears to the tiger. The tiger asked, 'O uncle, has some hot wind arisen?'

"The jackal replied, 'O nephew, a very scorching wind has arisen.'

" 'What has happened then?'

"This lion has said, 'Where has my tiger-grass gone? I will assuredly kill him.'

"The tiger said, 'O uncle, our two mothers said to us, just before they died, 'O children, as ye have sucked the same breast, be brothers. The world is full of evil calumniators. Take heed that ye do not listen to any of them. As they have left us this legacy do not you speak in that way.'

"The jackal replied, 'O nephew, as you will not listen to my well-meant words, you will go to ruin.'

" 'O uncle, what then will be the course of events?'

" 'O nephew, this lion will come forth from his lair and will stretch himself, and after stretching he will yawn, and after yawning he will look round on all four sides, and after looking round on all four sides, he will roar three times, and then come into your presence, and think, 'He will kill me.' Be sure of all this.

"Now although both of them were in the habit of acting in this way, according to their natures, they had never taken any notice of that. But one day the lion, the king of beasts, came forth from his lair and stretched himself, and yawned, and looked round on all four sides, and roared three times, and then went into the presence of the tiger. The tiger also came forth from his lair, and stretched himself and yawned, and looked round on all four sides, and then went into the presence of the lion. Although both of them had always been in the habit of doing all this, yet they had never taken any notice of the fact. But now that the seed of discord was sown, they did notice it. Just as the lion thought that the tiger wanted to kill him, so also the tiger thought that the lion wanted to kill him. But then the lion thought, 'I am strong, but the tiger is not. As he cannot then master me, I will investigate the matter further.' So he uttered this sloka—

" 'O Subāhu, to strive with Sudanshthra, possessor of complete excellence, agility, and force, is not right.'

"The tiger also replied in a sloka, 'O Sudanshthra, to strive with Subāhu, possessor of complete excellence, agility, and force, is not right.'

"The lion asked, 'Who spoke to you about this?'

"The tiger replied, 'The jackal.'

"Then the tiger asked, 'Who spoke to you about this?'

"The lion replied, 'The jackal.'

"Then the lion thought, 'This creature wanted to set us two at variance,' and struck the jackal dead with a slap in the face. Then a deity uttered this sloka—

"Friends ought not to be abandoned on account of the words of others, but the words of others ought to be tested. No reliance ought to be placed upon calumniators, who seek opportunities for sowing discord. See how the jackal, who desired to set friends at variance by means of lies, was put to death as a calumniator, while the friends were happy and rejoiced."

The Sarva-dar-sana-samgraha, or review of the different systems of Hindu Philosophy, by Mādhava Achārya. Translated by E. B. Cowell, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Cambridge, and A. E. Gough, M.A., Professor of Philosophy in the Presidency College, and Principal of the Madrasa, Calcutta. London, Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1882.

THE present translation is the combined work of Professors Cowell and Gough, who, each of them ; had the assistance of Pandits in Calcutta and Benares. The translation does not profess to be faultless. To begin with the manuscript copies, though

scarce and seemingly derived from one copy are found, all alike, to contain mistakes which probably had their origin in illegible passages in the Telugu original. The translations here reproduced originally appeared in the Benares Pandit between 1874 and 1878, and since then they have been carefully revised. Professor Cowell in the preface says :—

The work itself is an interesting specimen of Hindu critical ability. The author successively passes in review the sixteen philosophical systems current in the fourteenth century in the South of India, and gives what appeared to him to be their most important tenets, and the principal arguments by which their followers endeavoured to maintain them ; and he often displays some quaint humour as he throws himself for the time into the position of their advocate, and holds, as it were, a temporary brief in behalf of opinions entirely at variance with his own. We may sometimes differ from him in his judgment of the relative importance of their doctrines, but it is always interesting to see the point of view of an acute native critic. In the course of his sketches he frequently explains at some length obscure details in the different systems ; and I can hardly imagine a better guide for the European reader who wishes to study any one of these Darsanas in its native authorities. In one or two cases (as notably in the Bauddha, and perhaps in the Jaina system) he could only draw his materials second-hand from the discussions in the works of Brahmanical controversialists ; but in the great majority he quotes directly from the works of their founders, or leading exponents, and he is continually following in their track even where he does not quote their exact words.

The systems are arranged from the Vedānta point of view, —our author having been elected, in A.D. 1331, the head of the Smārta order in the Math of Sringeri in the Mysore territory, founded by Saṃkara Achārya, the great Vedāntist teacher of the eighth century, through whose efforts the Vedānta became what it is at present—the acknowledged view of Hindu orthodoxy. The systems form a gradually ascending scale,—the first, the Chārvāka and Bauddha, being the lowest as the furthest removed from the Vedānta, and the last, the Sāṃkhya and Yoga, being the highest as approaching most nearly to it.

The sixteen systems here discussed attracted to their study the noblest minds in India throughout the mediæval period of its history.

The volume forms one of the most valuable contributions to the oriental series at present in the course of issue by Trübner & Co. The Appendix on the Upādhi, or condition, a peculiarity of Hindu logic little known in Europe, is something more than a curiosity.

Report of the Meteorology of India in 1880. By Henry F. Blanford, F.R.S., Meteorological Reporter to the Government of India. Calcutta, Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India.

THIS is the sixth year of the issue of these reports, which deal with all the details recorded at the numerous stations in India. The present report is more extensive than any of the previous years, as it includes two stations lying to the west of the Indian Ocean, namely, the Island of Zanzibar and Aden. The observations recorded at the various stations are summarised and discussed in a very able manner by Mr. Blanford, the mean results of the year being compared with corresponding average of previous years, and differences or anomalies discussed in their mutual relation. Among the special subjects noticed in addition to the foregoing, are the questions of the relation of temperature to pressure, and the opposite march of pressure variations in the higher and lower atmosphere, Mr. F. Chambers' hypothesis of the passage from west to east of anomalous variations of pressure, the relation of unusual falls of snow on the Himalaya to the subsequent prevalence of dry west winds in Upper India: the history of the storm which caused the memorable disaster of the Naini Tal landslip, and the conditions which led up to and accompanied the rainfall of the cold weather months. The information on this subject given in the present report tends very considerably to modify the views formerly held regarding the conditions of this rainfall which is so important to Upper India. With regard to the relation between the Himalaya snow fall and the subsequent prevalence of dry west winds in Upper India, Mr. Blandford says:—

“I have pointed out, in previous reports, that in several instances, in the last few years, it has seemed as if an unusual precipitation of snow on the North-West Himalaya (including possibly the ranges of Afghanistan) were the forerunner of a prolonged period of dry weather in North-Western India, accompanied with the characteristic westerly or north-westerly winds; and it is probably only another instance of this association of north-westerly winds, and snowfall, that, as a general rule, a fall of winter rain in the Punjab, (which is generally accompanied with snow on the surrounding mountains), is followed by a great rise of pressure in Western or North-Western India, and a westerly or north-westerly wind, blowing down the North-Western Provinces and across Central India. Of this common phenomenon, instances have been given in the present report, pages 143 and 144; and also in those for 1878, pages 129, 130, and for 1879, pages 136 and 154.

"From October to February the north-westerly wind is unusually cool, and this is especially the case with that which springs up after a fall of rain. But from the middle of March onward, the westerly wind, with somewhat less northing and more strength, becomes the characteristic hot wind of Upper and Central India. Beyond these slight differences of direction and strength, the current appears to be similar to the cool wind of the earlier months, and there can be little doubt that it is of essentially the same origin, *viz.*, a general drainage of air from the surrounding mountains, which in the spring months becomes intensely heated by passing over the dry and heated plains of Upper and Western India. The striking contrast of temperature that characterises this wind in January and February on, the one hand, and in April and May on the other, would seem thus to depend on the rise in the temperature of the ground, and the rapid desiccation both of the ground surface and the scanty vegetation of the plains of Upper India, under the ascending sun. Hence it appears that, while in January and February, a fall of snow on the mountain zone, accompanied as it generally is by rain on the plains, produces a general depression of temperature, as soon as the cloud has cleared off, an unusual accumulation of snow on the former in the later months—March, April and May, and even in August—may, and apparently does, favour the prevalence of hot dry winds blowing from nearly the same quarter.

"This, it seems to me, is, in part at least, the most probable explanation of the heat of March and April 1881, and also of the prolonged interruption of the rains in August, which was so marked a feature of the year. These periods of unusual heat and aridity may, indeed, be partly dependent on another class of phenomena next to be noticed, *viz.*, the prevalence of a high atmospheric pressure, which is, perhaps, of independent origin, and the cause of which is much more obscure."

The other chief meteorological features of the year are generalised as follows:—

The persistence of a mean atmospheric pressure below the average during the first half of the year, and above it during the latter months; each condition, in so far as regards the total pressure on the plains, being maintained independently of the great oscillations of temperature already noticed. The abnormally low pressure of the first half of the year was only the terminal phase of a state of things that had lasted, with only partial and local interruption, for not less than one year and ten months, and it was certainly not dependent on the temperature of the lower atmosphere, since, while it prevailed, the temperature

sometimes greatly exceeded, at other times fell strikingly below the normal average. Not, indeed, that changes of temperature were without influence on the pressure, but their chief effect seems to have been on its vertical distribution, *viz.*, in altering the relative densities of the higher and lower atmospheric strata so that, *e.g.*, the deficiency of pressure which lasted, on the whole, with little variation through the first six months, was due, sometimes to the deficient density and high temperature of the lower atmospheric strata, sometimes to the greatly diminished pressure of the more elevated strata, lying above 7,000 feet; as is shown by the deficiency of pressure at the hill stations, exceeding that on the plains.

The deficiency of the rainfall over North-Western and Western India (excepting Gujrat) and Ceylon, that is to say, over those parts of India which receive their rainfall mainly from the Arabian Sea; and the excess over Bengal, and countries to the east and south-east, and also over the eastern parts of the peninsula; in other words, on those portions of the area, which are watered principally by the precipitation of the Bay of Bengal branch of the monsoon. The former being, on the average, the more important source of the supply, and that on which depends the major portion of the area, the net result is that, the total rainfall of the whole area was appreciably below the general average.

"In the former region, Gujrat formed a partial exception, but this was due chiefly to a quite unusual precipitation over a portion of the province in July and September. It was comparatively local, and does not materially affect the validity to the above general statement. So also in the North-West Provinces, where the deficiency, estimated as a proportion of the general average fall, was greater than in any other province; there was a small tract, in and around Rohilkhand, in which the September rainfall was such as is almost without recorded precedent on the plains of India, and a smaller but still considerable excess fell in June and July. These appear to be additional instances of a phenomenon which has been also noticed in previous annual reports, *viz.*, that an excessive rainfall over a restricted area is frequently repeated, and sometimes more than once in the same season; while surrounding tracts receive only a normal supply or even a deficiency. And, taken in conjunction with the prevailing deficiency around, they also illustrate a phenomenon that I have observed in many cases, and which Mr. Chambers has also noticed, *viz.*, that tracts of low average rainfall, and seasons of generally deficient rainfall, are those which present the greatest irregularities.

“ The provinces which, in proportion to the general average of past years, received the most copious supply, were the Carnatic, the Northern Circars, Orissa and Bengal. In the first named province, this was due principally to the excessive wetness of the usual autumn monsoon, especially in the month of November. In some parts, the total was augmented by the rainfall of a small-cyclone, which was felt on the coast in the latter part of the month. But, even subtracting this, the fall was much in excess of the average, and this was equally the case in those parts of the province which were but slightly affected by the cyclone. In Bengal and Orissa, the regular monsoon rains set in earlier than usual, and were fairly copious throughout (except perhaps in July). Even in August, when the rains failed almost entirely in North-Western, and to a great extent also in Western India, the fall was excessive in Northern Bengal, and the break was only partially felt and of short duration in the westerly districts of that province.

“ The facts, recounted above, indicate that a marked deficiency of rainfall in any given season is more due to the local inequalities of its distribution, than to the operation of any world-wide agency, and afford a useful lesson how unsafe is the attempt to educe general laws of periodical variation from the discussion of the registers of a few stations, however accurate and trustworthy ; nay, even from those of a large tract of country, such as the Carnatic or Western India.

The Yâtrâs, or the popular Dramas of Bengal. By Nisikânta Chattopâdhyâya. London, Trübner & Co. : Ludgate Hill, 1882.

THE first European scholar who mentioned the Yâtrâs was Mr. Horace Hayman Wilson, who more than fifty years ago, published *The Theatre of the Hindus*, in two volumes, copies of which may still be picked up at old book stalls. J. L. Klein in his *Geschichte des Dramas*, especially in the third volume gives the most complete account of the Dramatic literature of the Hindus as yet given in any European language. Klein, however, appears to have obtained all, or the major part of his information from Wilson. With the exception, then, of Wilson and Klein, no other authors have attempted any thing like a complete account of the Hindu Drama. Isolated examples, of course, there are, but these two authors almost cover the whole field. The present little work of some fifty pages is an unpretending and a very successful effort to place before the English reading public an account more complete than that either of Wilson or Klein of the Hindu Drama. There are eight pieces which

recount the history of *Khristna and Rama* and the heroes of the Mahabhārata who fought and fell on the field of Kurukshetra ; these, and many others are very popular in Bengal and are acted, not only during the three feasts and processions in honour of Khristna, but all through the year, "in all months and seasons in all festive occasions, religious and secular." Of these eight pieces three have been printed, and the author Cri Krishna Kamala Gosvami is still alive and residing at Dacca in Eastern Bengal

"Like the Sanskrit dramas, these three *Yātrās* begin with what in Sanskrit are called the *Pūrvavāṅga* (fore-play, induction) and the *Prastāvanā* (prologue), though both in a somewhat different form. The *Pūrvavāṅga* in the *Yātrās* also begins with a *Nāndī*, or as it is called in the *Vicitravilāsa*, with a *Mangalagītum*, a prayer or benedictory formula addressed to the Divinity whom the author worships, in the present cases to *Chaitanya* or *Gaura-Hari*, the latest *Avatara*, or Incarnation of *Vishnu*, who manifested himself in *Navadvīpa*, a town in West Bengal, between the years 1485-1533 of the Christian era—that is to say, almost at the same time when *Kurira** and *Nanaka* in the North-West Provinces of India, and Luther, Zwingli and Calvin in the heart of Europe were inaugurating a similar reformation. This *Nāndī*, or the *Mangalagītum*, is then followed by the *Prastāvanā* (prologue), in which the *Adhikarī* (*Regisseur*, or Proprietor, occupying the place of the *Sūtradhara* in the Sanskrit dramas) not only indicates what is immediately to follow, but refers also to occurrences prior to the actual argument of the piece itself. Thus the complimentary remarks with which the Sanskrit dramatists as usual introduce themselves, or incense their audience in the *Pūrvavāṅga*, are omitted in these *Yātrās*, although I recollect to have occasionally seen pieces where they were not omitted. The *Prastāvanā* (prologue) in these pieces is also somewhat different. It is not in a *dialogue* as in the Sanskrit dramas, but always in a *monologue* pronounced by the *Adhikarī*. Thus the *Prastāvanā* of a Sanskrit drama bears analogy to the prologues of some of the contemporary dramatists of Shakespeare in England,† or to the well-known prologue of Goethe's *Faust*, while that of the *Yātrās* rather to those of Euripides and Plautus.‡ I may, perhaps, not inconveniently add that Goethe wrote his prologue to the "Faust" after having read the "Sakuntalā," and having been incited to it by the perusal §

* Wilson's "Religious Sects of the Hindus," Barth : "Les Religions de l'Inde,"—p. 143. † Weber's "Allgemeine Weltgeschichte," II., 536.
‡ Klein, "Geschichte des Dramas," II., 62.
§ Wilson's "Theatre of the Hindus," Vol. I., xxxiv.

"The *Nāndī* or the *Mangalagītam* is sung by the whole company of actors, presided over, if possible, by the *Gosvamī* himself; if not, by the *Adhikarī* or the Regisseur who has bought the piece, or taken the responsibility of its acting.

"After the *Prastāvanā*, the real dramatical story, *Vastu* (res) opens, and is carried on, not as in the modern European or the antique Sanskrit dramas, divided into *acts* and *scenes*, but as in the mediæval Christian *Mysteries*, into *passio*, *sepultura* and *resurrectio*, or, as in the ancient Greek dramas, into *prologue episode* and *exode*. All *Yātrās* belong to this class. There is, however, one single exception to this rule, and that is *Vicitravilasa*, the last of the three *Yātrās* under consideration. The reverend author, evidently with the laudable intention of giving something more refined to his audience, as he indicates in the preface, has done his best to throw his work into the mould of a Sanskrit drama, and has thus introduced *acts* and *scenes*, otherwise foreign to this *genre* of composition. Thus the *Vicitravilasa* is divided into *five acts* (*Ankas*), each of which again is divided into *several scenes* (*Gurbhankas*), of which there is, however, no trace whatever in any other *Yātrās*. Thus the *Vicitravilasa* is particularly interesting, as representing a *transitional form* of drama between the popular *Yātrās* and the classical Sanskrit dramas. It is to the dramatical literature of India what "Forrex and Porrex" was to the dramatical literature of England."*

Extracts from Man and Nature, or the Earth as Modified by Human Action. By G. P. Marsh: With some notes on Forests and Rain-Fall in Madras, by A. J. Stuart, Madras Civil Service. Madras, Higginbotham & Co. 1882.

MARSH'S *Man and Nature* is sufficiently well known to need no notice here. The notes of Mr. A. J. Stuart are carefully thought out, closely reasoned and clearly set forth, and should certainly be read by all having any interest in the topics with which they deal. The notes occupy only some thirty-two pages of the pamphlet, and there is an addendum of twelve pages consisting of a Report republished from the *Fort St. George Gazette*, of a visit to the English and Scotch Forests by the professors and students from the Nancy Forest School, by M. Boppe, Inspector of French Forests. The following is Mr. Stuart's recapitulation of the advantages which a large proportion of forest covered land would secure in India:—

"The perennial supply in streams and rivers would increase, and

* "Gesammelte Schriften," von of the English Literature"—p. 187. Bodenstedt, and Spalding's "History

new springs and streams spring up where none exists now, the levels of wells be raised and their supply more abundant and continuous: high floods in rivers reduced and less water wasted into the sea, tanks and channels not so much silted up by torrents following every heavy rain, carrying along sand and silt in great quantity; less danger to irrigation works, tanks, channels, etc., from sudden and violent floods; improvement of climate by cooling; safety of crops from locusts, caterpillars or other insects, due to preservation of small birds; improvement of cultivation by concentration of effort upon the best lands and by manure put to its proper use when firewood is abundant; multiplication of cattle in proportion to land cultivated by the large supply of fodder produced in properly kept jungles; ample and cheap supply of wood for building and other purposes; impetus to industrial arts and manufactures of all kinds the result of cheap fuel.

"Will any one deny that this is a pretty long list of undisputed advantages possessed by a tropical country half covered with forests over one wholly or almost wholly denuded of them. And when it is added that not one-fourth of the whole area of the Madras Presidency is in fact now under the plough, does there not seem a fair field for an improvement of all the conditions of life on a large scale by extensive re-forestation of the plains.

"Be it always remembered, that the point of the whole of the above argument rests upon the fact that we are dealing with a *tropical* and not a temperate climate. Great Britain half wood might be and probably would be anything but a pleasant place to live in, but India half wood would as I think is above proved to be certainly a more agreeable abode from all possible points of view than it is at present.

Granting then that a proportion of forest to bare or cultivated country varying from $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ would be an incalculable benefit to this country, the question comes, how is such a state of things to be obtained, especially when the condition of the finances and the many calls upon them in this country, are taken into consideration. The reply is, the question, what practical steps have to be taken, and what are they likely to cost? The first and by far the most important step is a simple and not expensive one, *viz.*, the fencing of large areas and watching them in such a manner as to keep out cattle, goats, and other browsing animals and fire. This alone will secure the natural growth of scrub and low bushes at first, followed by occasional trees of the common kinds as the babool, the white thorn, etc., which in many places grow quite spontaneously if protected from animals. The process of fencing has upon I think sufficient reliable data been

calculated to cost from Rs. 4 to Rs. 6 per acre, the blocks being of considerable size.

"The next step is the ploughing of such fenced or protected areas with single furrows at intervals of 3 or 4 yards apart, and sowing the ridges turned up, with the seeds of such trees as are found to be indigenous to the district, and which may therefore be expected, if sown in the rains, to grow without watering and further care than protection from animals and the cultivator. This process carried on systematically and upon a large scale would be found to cost a very small sum per acre.

"And these are the only two processes required to effect the required transformation, given besides time and the land. For the last a legal provision enabling the best lands now waste to be taken up and reserved for this purpose the cultivator and his animals being kept out of them, and fenced, ploughed and sown by degrees as funds are available, is the simple but necessary requirement. These steps, taken upon a carefully arranged system, may fairly be expected to produce the most desirable result in a time proportioned to the funds available for expenditure upon it. Whenever money is available, five years should suffice to protect the ground fairly well from the sun, and it must depend, therefore, upon how many square miles of country there is money enough to deal with, how many years must be allowed for gaining the desired result.

A cheaper but still probably an effective plan will be to reserve, on the whole, say twice as large an area as it is intended to make into real forest, a few prosecutions for trespass and impounding of cattle will suffice to prevent trespasser or cattle venturing beyond the outer edges of the area reserved and the inner portion, that intended to be in future real forest, may then be protected without the expense of fencing. All that would be wanted being a broad cleared boundary line round the whole, beyond which men and cattle would know they are trespassing, and a staff of forest guards, for the first year strong, but reduced every succeeding year as the people learn to respect the boundary."

Tarjuma-i Alif Laila Ba-Zubán-i-Urdu. (Dò-jild ba-harfát-i-yú-rop) Romanized under the Superintendence of T. W. H. Tolbort, B.C.S., Barrister-at-Law, Deputy Commissioner, Ambála, and edited by Frederic Pincott, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, W. H. Allen & Co, London : 1882.

THIS is a Romanized version of a spirited translation into Urdú of the *Alif-Laila*, the Thousand and One Nights, in which

coarse expressions and whatever else might offend the finer sense or modesty of modern taste is expurgated. The special feature of this edition is, that it is printed in the Roman character in order to meet the requirements of those who prefer the Roman to the Arabic character, and also to facilitate the studies of those who wish to acquire an accurate knowledge of the Urdú language. The method of transliteration employed, is the system known as the Jonesian, found in the popular works of the late Duncan Forbes. There are idioms peculiar to the book which present divergencies from standard Urdú which the student would do well to study who wishes to master the translation.

Records of the Geological Survey of India. Vol. XV, Part 3.
Geological Survey Office, and Trübner & Co. London.

THE present number sustains the well earned reputation of these records. Of the seven papers which Part 3 contains, four are devoted to coal-fields and outcrops of coal. The most important, commercially, of these four, is the Note on the Umaria Coal-field (south Rewah Gondwana basin) by Theodore W. H. Hughes, A.R.S.M., F.G.S., of the Geological Survey of India. Mr. Hughes calculates that with an average thickness of 14 feet, there are available, within an area of three square miles, 28 millions of tons of coal at a depth of 300 feet from the surface. About 100 tons of this coal was tried on the East Indian and Great Indian Peninsula railways, and its working power has been estimated at 41 lbs. the train mile. On analysis, it yields from 52.4 to 59.0 of fixed carbon. The coal is good and there is abundance of it; it is within one hour's railway journey of Kutni, and from its geographical position, it is one of the most important sources of supply for Central and Upper India. Mr. Hughes believes that it will be of immense utility to the Great Indian Peninsula Railway and to the feeders of that line, and he has no doubt that an up-country consumption will be established.

The importance of developing the coal, iron and other mineral fields of India cannot be over-estimated, and capital flowing in this direction, judiciously invested, and intelligently directed, is certain to bring large returns.

Songs from the Sunny South. By John Cameron Grant. Longmans, Green & Co. London: 1882.

'SONGS from the Sunny South' is evidently the production of a young singer, hastily written, and, in our estimation,

too hastily published. The experience which years usually bring with them cannot be acquired either intuitively or from books. It is only as the years mature that thought matures, and so men "rise on stepping stones" of their own selves to higher and better things. In youth the imagination is active, and in young poets, it fills their works with beautiful imagery not always true to life, but at all events pleasing, musical and flowing. Imagination, however, without the sweet and sad experience of life, never made a great poet.

Poems, Original and Translated: By H. G. Keene, author of "Peepul Leaves," &c. Printed at the "Englishman" Press. Calcutta, 1882.

THE name of Mr. H. G. Keene is too well known to the readers of the *Calcutta Review*, to which he has contributed over a long series of years, to need any introduction. He has occupied a foremost place in Anglo-Indian literature for many years. As a historian, poet and essayist, his works are well known, and he is probably the most accomplished of the long line of Anglo-Indian poets who have produced readable verses. His poetry has been characterised as "exquisitely musical, full of strength and airy grace, of feeling alike refined and profound, and distinguished by great versatility of form and theme." His latest volume, "*Poems, Original and Translated*," if it does not extend his reputation, it at all events sustains it. The translations are of a very high order, and in them Mr. Keene appears in a new light. To reproduce the rhythm, the music and the thought of one language in another, is an effort which, even when most successful, often falls far short of the original. Some of Mr. Keene's translations are excellent. "The Grave," from Von Salis is probably as good an example of his power in this respect as any other in the volume.

By the deep grave's unechoing brink
We mortals shuddering stand,
Where, with a sable pall, it hides
The undiscovered land.

The music of the nightingale
We do not hear above;
Only upon the mossy mounds
Fall faded flowers of love.

There brides bereaved are wringing
Their hands so vainly round,
There orphan's wailings cannot pierce
The inexorable ground.

Ah! but yet here alone we find
The peace we love the best;
Through that dark door alone we win
Our everlasting rest.

Yes ! the poor heart that in the world
 So many tempests bore
 Can only know its true repose
 Here, when it beats no more.

“Memory,” from Alfred De Musset, probably occupies a higher rank than the preceding :

Ah Time ! strong lord of lightly-flying hours,
 Our sighs, our tears, thou bearest them all away ;
 But, pity-smitten, on our faded flowers
 Thy footsteps never stray.

Away with idle words and fond conceits,
 The hackneyed funeral pomp of vulgar woe,
 Which those who never loved on mock regrets
 In vain pretence bestow.
 Why saidst thou, Dante, that 'tis grief's worst sting
 To think, in sorrow, on past happiness ?
 What spasm from thee that bitter cry could wring
 That insult to distress ?
 Is then the light less certain or less glad,
 And (when night falls) forgotten in the gloom ?
 Is it from thee, spirit sublimely sad,
 From thee we have such doom ?
 No ! by the splendour of yon shining moon,
 Not from thy heart this blasphemy so void ;
 A happy memory is a truer boon
 For life, than bliss enjoyed.

“Carpe Diem,” is an old friend which appeared in 1880 in *Sketches in Indian Ink*, and those of our readers who may have had any doubts regarding the authorship of the *Sketches*, have now these doubts removed.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Subhankari O Manasánka. Third Edition. By Kámini Kumár Chakrabarti. Printed by T. C. Biswás at the Cháru Press, Town Sherpur, 1882.

THIS is an arithmetical work “designed chiefly for boys, girls, and traders.” The indigenous rules of calculation, which possess great practical interest, and the method of working out sums in addition, subtraction, multiplication and division, both simple and compound, are clearly explained, and numerous questions are given for exercise. The book is used in schools, and schoolmasters and their pupils would therefore be the fittest persons to pronounce upon its merits as an educational text-book. As the author is himself a schoolmaster, we have reason to believe that he has so written his work as to make it suitable for those for

whom it is intended, and whose requirements he is quite in a position to understand. That the work has reached its third edition in the course of four or five years is some evidence of its usefulness as a schoolbook.

Sulochaná, or The Exemplary Wife. By Gopál Chandra Datta. Calcutta: B. Banerji & Co., 25, Cornwallis Street, 1882.

THIS book professes to give the reader a photograph of an exemplary Bengali wife. The photograph produced by the author is not an exemplary one.

The story is as follows :—The elder of two brothers, a selfish drone, blessed with a designing wife and a large pack of children, appropriates to himself all the handsome earnings of the younger, who manages a large money-lending concern in the North-Western Provinces, keeps the younger's wife and child on insufficient rations, and in concert with his wife, who is a grain more shrewd than himself, endeavours to rob the whole of the younger's estate and confine the succession to his own branch of the family. The younger brother returns from service, discovers the plot, and recovers his estate. As a story of Bengali domestic life in one of its numerous aspects, this one, we feel certain, is conceived far less dramatically, and related with infinitely less art than Babu Tárak Náth Gánguli's story of *Swarnalátá*, briefly noticed in the last number of this *Review*. Every reader, indeed, of Babu Tárak Náth's excellent novel will condemn the taste and judgment of the man who has thought another novel necessary to picture forth what has been already delineated with such skill and power.

We confess that Babu Gopál Chandra's object is, as regards one point, different from that of the writer of *Swarnalátá*. Babu Gopál Chandra wants to lecture Young Bengal on all manner of subjects, domestic, social, political, moral, religious, commercial, &c. But his lectures are so long and so very like lectures, that we feel constrained to question the correctness of the notions he entertains regarding the scope and structure of a work of art. A work written with the view of lecturing or sermonising may be anything, but it is not a work of art. Again, Babu Gopál Chandra's views on the many subjects on which he has written sermons in this work are not such as to find favor with those for whose benefit they are explained. A low tone of prudence or expediency pervades all his views. His highest conception of a human being is a man who cringes before foreign rulers and suppresses his nobler instincts for the sake of worldly advantage. The key to his thoughts is pitched very low. He thinks for the hour and not for all time. He understands the low material man, but he is incapable of conceiving the

beauty and the eternal utility of the pure man of culture. He may be a writer on party politics ; but he has not in him the fire in which may be forged a real work of art.

Babu Gopál Chandra's want of artistic power is perceived throughout the work. Although the story is intended to be taken as a story of heartless domestic deception, we are sorry to say that there is not, in all the 244 pages in which it is related, a single passage in which we feel moved or affected. Indeed, we do not remember having read another work of fiction even in Bengali which steers clear so dexterously, as does this work of Babu Gopál Chandra Datta, of the region of the heart and of the waves of feeling. As regards character-painting, Babu Gopál Chandra is as unsuccessful in this as he is in all other things. The younger brother Rámhari, who is represented as spending all his life like a prudent matter-of-fact man, suddenly falsifies himself towards the close of the story by adopting the somewhat romantic and sensational plan of hiding his personality in the disguise of a Sannyási. And Rámhari's wife, Sulochaná, who is intended to be taken as an exemplary wife, but who always remains at an immeasurable distance from that high ideal, sometimes renders herself even ridiculous by writing such letters as the following to her absent husband :—

“প্রিয়তমে, একে তোমা বিহনে অন্তঃকরণ দগ্ধ হইতেছে আর চিন্তায় ও উদ্ভিগ্নতায় শরীর জর্জর হইয়াছে। কয় বৎসর মধ্যে এক দিন ও তোমার বিস্তারিত সংবাদ পাই নাই। বোধ হয় এ দাসীর প্রতি আর পূর্বসম শ্রদ্ধাও নাই রূপাও নাই। হইতে পারে। স্বকোমল হৃদয় হৃদয় তৃণ পাইলে কোন বিষ আর শুষ্ক তৃণপূর্ণ ক্ষেত্রকে মনে করে না। যা হউক যদি দাসীকে একান্ত পাই দিয়া ঠেলেন স্মরণ নাথকে ভুলিবেননা।”

A cultivated, distressed and persecuted woman, indeed ! The author's faults of style and grammar are innumerable and of various kinds.

Aitihásik Pátha. By Rajani Kánta Gupta. Printed by Bihári Lal Banerji, at Messrs. J. G. Chatterji & Co.'s Press, 44, Amherst Street, and published by the Medical Library, 97, College Street. Calcutta : 1882.

BABU Rajani Kánta Gupta is a Bengali writer of established reputation ; and, if we are rightly informed, literature is his profession. This last fact speaks well for the present state and

immediate prospects of Bengali literature. It is only a thing of value and promise and usefulness that can possess a sustaining and self-supporting power. Babu Rajani Kánta has already written several books, chiefly for educational purposes, and the book under notice is one of his latest contributions to the literature of his country and to the existing stock of Bengali school books.

Añihárik Pátha, or, as the author himself styles it, *Studies in Indian History*, is not an original work, but a compilation based chiefly upon Dr. Rájendralála Mitra's recently published *Indo-Aryans*. It is written in a style, which is neither highly Sanskritised nor vulgarly colloquial. The style is easy, clear, and dignified. The subject matter of the work is also of a kind which cannot but be exceedingly interesting to lovers of Indian history. Babu Rajani Kánta writes more about the *people* of ancient India than about their kings or kingly wars. But there are one or two points on which we feel it necessary to speak somewhat freely. Our first remark will be made on the supposition that the book is not intended for educational purposes. On that supposition, we feel inclined to question the correctness of the plan on which the work has been compiled. The author's subject matter is ancient Indian History, the first Aryan immigration into India, their conquest of the country, their relations with the aborigines, their knowledge, arts, sciences, religion, manners, customs, &c., at different periods of their development, their social and political institutions, amusements, sports, &c. These are matters of which our knowledge is at the best conjectural, and, where supported by evidence, is subject to correction and material limitations. A right presentation of the subject demands, therefore, an elaborate treatment like that which is possible in a large work like Dr. Rájendralála's *Indo-Aryans*. It is only by such a treatment of the subject that the real nature of our knowledge concerning it can be clearly explained. In a small volume of 100 or 200 octavo pages, like the one under notice, the treatment of such a subject can not possibly be of the kind it ought to be; it must necessarily be brief. But to be brief in such matters is to be misleading; for want of space will leave no room for discussion, and much that is mere conjecture or speculation will necessarily appear as well-ascertained history. We are, therefore, systematically opposed to the publication of abridged editions of large antiquarian or semi-historical works. Such books serve only to misrepresent knowledge, and, by strengthening and perpetuating error, to prevent inquiries for the ascertainment of truth. The popularisation of antiquarian knowledge is fatal to the cause of history. When people in general begin to believe that to be a fact which is nothing better than conjecture, or even very

strong presumption, they do not think of making inquiries regarding it; and the appearance of public tranquility has at last a tranquillising effect on the learned world itself. The consequence is, that fiction becomes perpetual fact. On the ground of their misleading character, as well as of their mischievous influence on the cause of historic research, we are, therefore, disinclined to look with favor on such publications as the one before us, whether written in Bengali, in English, or in any other language.

We find much in Sanskrit literature concerning the caste-system, the system of Government under Hindu kings, and other ancient institutions. Now, as a matter of fact, things as they existed in ancient India must have been, if not always, at least often, very different from the theoretical accounts we read of them in Sanskrit works. All Brahmins were not learned in the Vedas, all Kshatriyas were not warriors, nor was every Hindu king a typical vicegerent of God, as the *Sastras* required him to be.

There is an error, or rather a species of error, which not only writers like Babu Rajani Kānta, but even men who conduct original researches, are often found to commit in writing or talking about ancient India. In describing ancient Hindu manners and customs, they frequently make general statements like the following one:—

“স্রীলোকেরা সুরাপান করিত অথচ ইহারা দণ্ডনীয় হইত না ।
স্রী-পুরুষে একত্র নৃত্য করিত, একত্র জলক্রীড়া করিত এদং একত্র
নানাবিধ পশু পক্ষীর অর্দ্ধদধি মাংস ভোজন ও সুরাপান করিয়া
পরিতৃপ্ত হইত * ”

Considering the nature of the evidence which is to be found in Sanskrit books, it may not be difficult to believe that such customs as are described in this extract prevailed in certain social ranks, or among certain tribes, or within certain areas in ancient India. But it would be, we are afraid, as unsafe to say, regarding any custom, that it was of universal prevalence among ancient Hindus, as that it is observed at the present time by all Hindus, whether living in Bengal, in Madras, in Bombay, in the North-Western Provinces, in the Panjab, or in Assam. Historic presumption is in favor, not of uniformity of development, but of diversity of development among the various Hindu peoples in ancient India; and the diversified civilisation of modern India seems to be but a continuation of a very old order of things. But those who write on such subjects generally overlook this point and

* See *Aitihāsik Pāṭha*, by Rajani Kānta Gupta, p. 72.

represent facts of partial importance as possessing a very general interest.

Aitihāsik Pátha ought not to be placed in the hands of school-boys.

Kumári Kárpentárer Jiban-churít. By Rajani Kánta Gupta. Printed and published by Mr. M. M. Rakshit, at the Sádharán Bráhma Samáj Press, 45, Boniátolá Lane, College Square. Calcutta, 1882.

THIS is another new work by Babu Rajani Kánta Gupta, and it belongs to the Mary Carpenter Series. Of this series, we are sorry to say, we cannot speak so highly as we could have wished. We are afraid the writers have, perhaps not quite deliberately, aimed at teaching European forms of social and domestic life to Bengali women, have not, at any rate, suited their teaching to the present circumstances of Bengali society, or taken due notice of those social arrangements with which Bengali culture, both intellectual and moral, is at present intimately connected. Babu Rajani Kánta's *Life of Mary Carpenter* is a work to which this remark does in some measure apply. The works of benevolence and philanthropy are performed in different ways by different peoples. In some countries, as in India, charity is a strictly private and individual concern; in some countries, as in England, it is often a public concern managed by organised public bodies. It should not be thought, however, as is apparently done by many people here, that the form in which philanthropic works are done is a small matter and may be easily altered. Forms of alms-giving and well-doing are the outcome of many social forces and are intimately related to the spirit of a people's life as determined by the nature of their whole past history. The life of a philanthropist, like Miss Mary Carpenter, is the natural and necessary product of English culture, English energy, English social and political life, and English history. It is not, therefore, a sort of life that can be reproduced *anywhere* and *at pleasure*. We are, for this reason, at a loss to understand, what good purpose can be served by making Bengali girls read the record of a life of philanthropy like that of Miss Mary Carpenter. That philanthropy is of a kind for the practice of which Hindu society presents few opportunities and possesses no machinery. The practice of it, moreover, demands a kind of energy and a power of combining scattered materials which, we are sorry to say, not even Hindu *males* possess. Lastly, the spirit of that philanthropy is the result of a system of life and culture which is organically different from that which has been up to this time at work in this country. It is, in

fact, the spirit of a totally different, and in some respects higher social level than what has been yet attained by the Hindus of Bengal. It is, therefore, easy to understand that Miss Mary Carpenter's system of philanthropy is one which cannot be now thoroughly comprehended and grasped in this country. These are truths which are entirely overlooked by the writers of Indian school-books, and have been completely disregarded by Babu Rajani Kánta Gupta and the Bengal Branch of the National Indian Association. The request this memoir has been compiled. Bengali girls will study this memoir to no purpose; and if its study does produce any effect, it will be, we are afraid, a positively unwholesome one. A few ambitious Hindu girls, freed from the restraints of Hindu society, will simply add a conspicuous item to the list, already grown too long, of ridiculously lifeless and spasmodic imitations of English forms of action.

The chief fault of the author's style is its predominant Englishism, of which the following may be taken as instances:—

(a) কুমারী কার্পেন্টার কৃষককে কার্য্য তৎপর দেখিয়া ব্যগ্রতার সহিত কহিয়া উঠিলেন, “আমিও কাজে আসিতে চাই, আমিও কাজে আসিতে চাই”।

(b) জীবনের প্রথম সোপানে পদাৰ্পণ করিয়া

(c) ব্রিষ্টলে আসিলে ডাক্তার কার্পেন্টারের কার্য্যক্ষেত্র অধিকতর বিস্তৃত হইয়া পড়ে।

Babu Rajani Kánta has simply compiled facts, instead of explaining their meaning. Thus, he says that Miss Mary Carpenter received religious advice from her father when she was only three years of age; but he does not explain how or in what method religious instruction was imparted to an infant of only 3 years. He has said many unnecessary things. For one instance, take the following:—

“মাদ্রাজ হইতে কুমারী কার্পেন্টার ২০ এ নবেম্বর ভাগীরথীর মুখে উপস্থিত হন। তিনি এক খানি ফরাশী জাহাজে আসিয়া-ছিদেন।”

Of what use would it be to Bengali girls, or, for the matter of that, to anybody in the world, to know that Miss Carpenter came from Madras to Calcutta in a French, and not in a Dutch or Portuguese steamer? The man who puts down many unnecessary facts in a compilation which is designed to convey the largest amount of *useful* knowledge in an exceedingly compact form, is

not a judicious worker. Altogether, the book under notice is not worthy of the reputation of Babu Rajani Kánta Gupta.

For all the reasons we have stated above, we are strongly of opinion, that it would be unwise and probably mischievous to place this book in the hands of Bengali girls.

Jiban Atmá o Maner Baijnánik Byákhyan. Printed by Nabin Chandra Chakrabarti, at the Bháratmihir Press. Mymensingh 1881.

THIS work contains a "scientific exposition of life, soul and mind." It is based upon the researches of modern European scientists into the phenomena of life and the nature of those operations which are called mental and spiritual. The properties of inanimate substances, the phenomena of conception, gestation and birth, the development of what are ordinarily called mental powers, the physiological structure of man and other animals, the different bodily functions, these and various other subjects of interest, are touched upon and explained in this work. The author displays a considerable knowledge of European authorities on physiology, biology, and scientific psychology, and apparently leans on the side of materialism. He has made an excellent use of his knowledge by writing this book. His work, we are sure, would have been more useful, if the style of exposition adopted in it had been of a more elementary nature. English-knowing Hindus study such subjects in English books, and they would not be therefore likely to read the work under notice. There are many Hindus, however, who know not English, or who know it very imperfectly, for whom a Bengali exposition of an interesting subject like that which is treated of in this work would be desirable. But the exposition which would suit their unlearned understandings must be a very easy and elementary one, which the present one is not. We trust the author will bear this in mind, and increase the usefulness of his really able and valuable work by recasting it on the principles we have indicated. The work, as it stands, is certainly a substantial contribution to Bengali literature.

The Sanhitás. Nos. 1 to 4. Translated and published with the Originals, by Hara Sundara Tarkaratna. Printed by Jadunáth Bhattachárya, at the Bháratmihir Press. Mymensingh, 1286 and 1287, B. S.

THE *Sanhitás*, No. 5, translated and published with the Originals, by Hara Sundara Tarkaratna. Printed by Ramá-Náth Ráya, at the Cháru Press, Sherpur, 1881.

The Sanskrit *Sanhitās* are institutes of Hindu law and religion, embracing all topics of practical social interest for the people of this country. They contain regulations regarding the occupations and mutual relations of the different castes, education, marriage, domestic life, purificatory ceremonies, daily and periodical sacraments, penances and punishments for sins and crimes, the civil law, the duties of kings, and the political system, &c. As codes, they are, perhaps, without a parallel in any other country; for they include all possible subjects connected with individual, domestic, social, political, and religious life, so far as life in those various forms was developed in ancient India. Like the social system of the Hindus, these *Sanhitās* display a capacity for codifying or systematising, which some nations of our time would do well to endeavour to understand. We do not wish, nor is this the place, to enter into the question of whether such compact and compendious codes of national life do in the long run produce more harm than good, though we may remark, as we pass on, that we are by no means inclined to accept the *ipsi dixit* of some living western jurists on this very difficult but imperfectly understood subject. But we feel no hesitation in saying, that these wonderful *Sanhitās* of the Hindus—very much more wonderful as specimens of codification than the Institutes of Justinian, the Code Napoleon, the New York Civil Code, or the Indian Penal Code—clearly indicate an amount and a kind of intellectual *culture* of which no conception has been yet formed in Asia or in Europe. They are masterpieces of their kind.

For this reason, as well as on account of their practical value and historical importance, we hail the appearance of this serial. It will contain all the original *Sanhitās*, together with a Bengali translation by Pandit Hara Sundara Tarkaratna. In the five parts before us, we have the *Sanhitās* of Atri and Vishnu, and a portion of that of Yajñavalkya. The Bengali translation is easy and elegant. It is a sign of the times that Brahmin scholars are now unsealing those books which their ancestors kept carefully concealed, and out of which they only communicated to others just as little as they chose to disclose. We have an impression, and facts are every day coming to light, that do much to confirm it, that, in spite of his proverbial exclusiveness and conservatism, it is the Brahmin of India who has been appointed by destiny to expound Brahminical literature to the world. A country's literature is its truest history, and it is a bare truism, that the history of a country cannot possibly be written by a foreigner. The temper and genius of a people forms the most vital element of their history, and the temper and genius of a people is inherited, and therefore *felt* only by one of their own descendants, and not by a foreigner. The modern

Brahmin is the *completest* inheritor of the temper and genius of ancient Hindu culture, and we have hopeful signs before and around us, that the modern Brahmin will sooner or later explain to the world the *true* history of his country.

Sakuntalâ-tattwa, or a Review of Kalidâs's drama of Sakuntalâ.

By Chandra Nath Basu, M. A. Printed by Kedâr Nâth Bhattâ-chârjya, at the New Arya Press, and published by Jogesh Chandra Banerji, at the Canning Library. Calcutta, 1881.

BABU Chunder Nath undertakes in this work to discuss the dramatic merits of Kalidas's Avignyan Sakuntala. We are bound to confess that he has succeeded admirably. We do not know, and cannot from this distance of time guess, what was the opinion of ancient Indian *savants* regarding the merits of this famous drama. All that we know is, that they gave their unqualified praise to this grand production, as would appear from the often quoted couplet:—

“কালিদাসস্য সর্বস্বং অভিজ্ঞান শকুন্তলং
তত্রাপি চতুর্থাঙ্কঃ যত্র যান্তি শকুন্তলা।”

Since the translation of the drama into English by Sir W. Jones, criticism on Sakuntala assumed a different form. That eminent scholar and critic gave the whole weight of his authority to establish the view, that though Sakuntala was a great poem, *as a drama*, it was far inferior to Shakespeare's first-class productions, and that the first two acts could be safely expunged without diminishing its dramatic excellence. Sakuntala laboured under the depreciating effect of this one-sided criticism for the last hundred years, during which men of culture have adopted this unfair estimate of Sir W. Jones. We owe to Chandra Babu's high esthetic culture the recovery of this drama from the congealing effect of this depressing criticism. He has established that Sakuntala is a drama, and a drama not a bit inferior to Shakespeare's best works. He has viewed the work as a whole, and shown how the characters have been developed, and how they work upon one another.

In order to understand Chandra Babu's book, we must briefly explain the nature of true criticism. The old Hindu *rhetoricians* would weigh every sentence, every happy expression, almost every word in the scale, and would first show whether they conformed to the ordinary canons of *Alankâr*. They would take every stanza into consideration, bit by bit, and point out the beauties of style, of figure, or of diction contained in it. Their business was to examine the garb in which a book was clothed, but not so much to

understand what lay within it. In short, if a book wore a gentle dress, it came safe from their trial and passed for a good book. If the reader remembers the old stanza—

উশমা কালিদাসস্য ভারবের্থ গৌরবং
নৈমধ্যে পদলালিত্যং মাঘে শাস্তি ত্রয়োত্তমাঃ ।

he will understand that Kalidas has been praised more for his well-balanced metaphors than for the poetry that underlies his compositions.

The spirit of such criticism has however evaporated. We no longer consider poems as mere lifeless organisms possessing only external tinsel. We no longer take into our consideration and analyse every part of a book separately from its other parts without showing the relation which exists between each part and the whole. Without analysing, we rise by synthesis to higher generalizations till we catch the very principles which lie imbedded throughout. The poet is a seer; he is a maker. His creations are so many worlds, the horizon of which contracts or expands according as his position is lower or higher than the ordinary level. It is the duty of the critic to find out the life principles of this creation, to measure and explain the different forces that act upon its several units, and to show the resultant effect of the forces which keep the units together. These units are not material atoms. They are living beings, they are men speaking and acting like ourselves. It is the duty of the true critic to explain the *vis viva* of these units, to analyse their individual, relative and combined tendencies, and then to find out the secret of the singular creations of the poet.

We are indebted to Babu Chandra Nāth for raising Bengali criticism to this higher standard. We do not find any other work in Bengali literature in which the art of criticism has been so highly developed. He has, in the first chapter of his work, given us a clear idea of what a true drama is, and how Kalidas's *Sakuntala* comes up to the standard of a drama. To understand this, we have to refer to certain facts which helped the development of this class of dramas in Sanskrit literature. Ancient Indian sages were absorbed in the study and contemplation of the *soul*. They understood the greatness of the soul. The soul was to them everything, and the external world, nothing. In fact, they neglected the study of the external world altogether. We can form some idea of the height which this study reached, when we consider that they thought the soul not inferior to the Creator; nay, it was the Creator himself. But what is the tendency of the present age? To study the external world at

the expense of real psychology. Some modern sages consider the external world to be all in all, and the soul as good as nothing. Many of them deny the existence of the soul altogether. To them soul-power is a mere fiction, only a singular development of the all-pervading energy. This is the cause, why in Sanskrit dramas the conception of the mind is different from what it is in western dramas. The Hindu who knows the greatness of the soul, cannot represent it as succumbing under the force of external circumstances, or to feelings which are but accidents of the soul's contact with the external world. Western thinkers would paint nature as they understand it, as something whose external influence crushes the whole soul. We thus find in Shakespear's dramas, men sinking under external influences. But, the Sanskrit drama is a study of the soul. It is something like a psychology in which the soul-power is clearly described. It is for this reason that the Hindu drama possesses a moral excellence which European dramas essentially lack.

After explaining in the first chapter what a true drama is, our author, has in the second given us a sketch of Dusyanta's character, and in the third, that of Sakuntala. In the fourth, he has placed these two high ideals of character (male and female) side by side. In the fifth, he dives into the inner meaning of the drama. In the sixth, the minor characters are delineated. In the seventh, he compares the full blown drama with the skeleton story in the Mahabharat; and points out how from the meagre story of Vyasa, this grand work of imagination has been evolved, and how one rough character in the story has been split up into many, a different phase of the same character being assigned to each.

Now let us take a view of the character of Dusyanta. This Dusyanta, this ideal man, represents the perfect soul, exerting all along to crush external influences, and the overpowering force of grosser feelings. His mind being thus placed in relief on a back ground of strong worldly temptations and sufferings, shines with a halo of glory perfectly consonant to the Hindu idea. The main spring of Dusyanta's character is his altruistic tendencies, which produce a high standard of soul-development. That soul, according to Hindu ideas, cannot succumb to external influence. But even such a soul is amenable to love. Love, according to Hindu ideas, is not passion, for it is not the source of pain, as Chandra Babu would say, but it is a part and parcel of the soul, it is altogether different from what is called *kām*. We therefore think that Kalidas did not introduce love as a disturbing element.

We believe Chandra Babu is wrong in asserting that the sufferings of Dusyanta are to be accounted for by the fact of his soul giving way to the influences of grosser feelings, *i.e.*, love. He is

wrong in supposing that a virtuous life must be a life without suffering. Suffering is but the outcome of our soul's contact with the world, and cannot be always accounted for by its giving way to grosser feelings. According to Chandra Babu, and we fully endorse his views, Sakuntala solves the great question of society. As Goethe's Faust solves the question of life, so does Sakuntala solve the question of society. Durbāsā is the poetic embodiment of the *spirit* of the laws of society, stubborn, inflexible, inexorable! He does not make his appearance on the stage, for the spirit of a law is something that is invisible. Dusyanta, a gigantic intellect, the *beau ideal* of a king, the sheet anchor of society, who keeps many worlds moving round him, is the noblest embodiment of the spirit of society. Sakuntala is the ideal woman that always loses her existence in that of those she loves, is like a cement that keeps society together, wherever she goes. Whether in the hermitage, or in the palace, or on the Himalayas, she is always the central point of attraction.

The drama sets forth, as Chandra Babu says, the evils of secret marriage under any circumstances however favourable. It proves, in charming and convincing language, that nothing should be done that law forbids, and it teaches a lesson, the highest that could be taught in Brahmanical society.
